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Department of Public Instruction in Mysore

SELECTIONS FROM

ENGLISH PROSE AND POETRY

MYSORE:
PRINTED AT HINDUSTHAN PRESS,
1961

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SELECTIONS FROM
ENGLISH PROSE AND POETRY

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PREFACE

The Government of Mysore appointed a Board for editing an anthology of English prose and poetry for the S. S. L. C. class. Within the rather short time at its disposal, and in spite of a number of other handicaps, the Editorial Board has tried to give to the students what it considers an an excellent collection of prose passages and poems. It had before it these objects : to secure great variety in themes, in literary forms, in ideas and sentiments, and in style ; to give little from the many rather than much from a few ; to give adequate representation to the representative Indian writers of English ; to instil noble ideals into the impressionable minds of the students; to give extracts from the great works of celebrated writers, so that they might act as an appetiser for reading more by those writers; and to give more pieces than are actually going to be studied by each batch of students.

The last of these serves a twofold purpose. A student, whose thirst for literature is not going to be quenched by reading the pieces to be prescribed by the Syllabus Committee, has the advantage of getting ready access to some more pieces of the same degree of excellence. This would prevent him from running the risk of laying his hands on bad books in his search for more matter for reading. The other advantage is that the same text might be studied by successive batches of students, changing by turns the pieces to be studied each year. This would be helpful from the point of view of efficient teaching and also administratively.

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Care has been taken to see that all the pieces included in this anthology, are not very easy ones. Text books and question papers go a long way in determining standards. Some non-easy passages, but by no means difficult ones, have also been included.

In numbering the passages serially, both in prose and poetry sections, aspects like the nature of the theme, simplicity of style, length of the passage, sentiments embodied, and the alternation of India and British writers of English, have been kept in view.

Notes and exercises that are given at the end of each lesson, are significant and adequate, but by no means elaborate. To attempt to explain the obvious would not only be unnecessary, but it would also amount to an insult to the teachers with training and experience. Most aspects of grammar and composition are covered, short questions and essay-type questions are asked, and new-type tests are given under the exercises.

Every one of the pieces included in this anthology is of some interest to the students Apart from the other things, the very range of subject matter—adventure, patriotism, love of knowledge, exhortation, filial love, forgiveness, love of nature, judgment of heaven, pathos, sacrifice for the sake of the lover, mischiefs of party spirit, message of the Buddha, unequal distribution of wealth, need for men of character in India, etc.,—is bound to grip their attention. It is sincerely hoped that they will enjoy reading this book and will profit by their reading.

28—3—1960
Mysore

S. N. SHANTHAVEERAPPA,
Chairman, Editorial Board far English.

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LESSON 1.

PLAYING THE GAME

(ARTHUR MEE)

Alan's mother came to the gate to see him off. "Good-by, Alan, do your best," she called out. "Rather, Mummy," answered Alan, and, waving his hand, he ran out of the gate and up the road.

Do his best! Of course he would. For Alan was playing in the School cricket match and was mightily proud of being chosen to play. He had practised bowling with his father for weeks now, and Daddy said he was shaping well. Daddy was nearly as excited as Alan over the match, and he promised that if Alan's side won he would buy him a bicycle.

No wonder Alan was excited!

On his way to the sports ground Alan had to pass the little three-cornered meadow, and as he reached it, he saw a very old man leaning heavily on his stick. As Alan passed he called out to him.

"Can I help You?" asked Alan kindly, going up to him.

"Perhaps you will let me take your arm, little boy," said the old man in a thin, cracked

voice. "This road is so hilly, and the wind is almost too much for me."

"Rather!" said Alan, for he knew he could easily make up what time he had lost by running when he left the old man.

But the poor old gentleman leaned heavily on Alan's sturdy little arm and tottered along like a baby. So slowly did he walk that five minutes had gone before they were half-way up the road.

Alan explained to the old man that he was on his way to a cricket match and that he must not be late, but he seemed not to hear him.

"Where do you live, sir?" called Alan at last in the old man's ear.

"Up the road and some way round the corner," he answered in his thin, weak voice. "I should be so much obliged if you could see me home. You look a very kind little boy."

See him home? And they were still a long way off! If only he could walk a little faster. Why, the teams would be already on the field and the captain would be wondering why he did not come.

Suddenly the old man stumbled over a loose paving stone and fell heavily on the ground.

"Don't leave me, little boy," murmured the old man.

"No, I will stay here," said Alan, and he sat down beside him, for he felt sure that some one would come that way soon.

Alan stared anxiously up and down the road during the minutes that followed. The minutes almost seemed like hours. Then, at last, turning the corner came a jolly-looking policeman. Alan could have shouted for joy.

"I 'll see this gentleman home, little boy," he said, after Alan had explained what had happened.

Then Alan ran off, and flew as fast as his legs would carry him to the sports ground. But the game had started when he arrived.

"Why, it's you, Alan," said his teacher, who was standing just inside the entrance. "You're not much good if you can't come up to time. We have put in young Harold Tanks in your place. Fortunately, he's putting some good balls over."

Alan bit his lip. How could he explain? He turned away and made his way slowly home.

His father opened the door.

"Bravo, Alan" he said, patting his little son on the back.

"But, Daddy," began Alan. But his father interrupted him.

"It's all right, old man," he said. "You see, I came up behind that policeman and he told me what had happened. So I knew you were playing the game although it wasn't on the cricket-pitch. So I went back into the High Street and bought the bicycle I promised you. It's a beauty. And, Alan, we're proud of you, your Mother and I."

And in the class room next morning the boys gave Alan three loud cheers, as only school-boys can, for in some mysterious fashion they too had learned all about his kind act.

NOTES

Mr. Arthur Mee is the editor of 'The Book of Knowledge' and 'The Children's Napolean,' and the author of—'The Hero Book' 'Thousand Great Lives,' etc. He has a clear and simple style, and in all his works he shows that the aim of life is to make the world a better place for us to live in.

Playing the game—Acting in a fair manner; doing one's duty unmindful of the effects on oneself.

shaping well—showing promise of becoming a good bowler.

sturdy—strong.

tottered—moved unsteadily.

stumbled over—struck against.

interrupted—stopped in the middle.
bravo—indicates appreciation.
putting some good balls over—bowling well.

A. *Answer the following:*

1. How did Alan prepare himself for the match?
2. What prevented Alan from reaching the cricket field in time?
3. What was Alan's fear while helping the old man?
4. Why is the story called 'Playing the game'?

B. (i) *Use the following in sentences of your own:*
to see one off; to shape well; to make up; to make one's way; to play the game; mysterious.

(ii) Frame sentences to distinguish the meanings of words in each of the following pairs:
bowl-bawl; loose-lose; wonder-wander; totter-tatter.

(iii) Frame sentences using each of the following words as a noun and as a verb:
promise; fashion; team; reach; answer; cheer.

C. *Parse the words in italics in the following:*
Alan *stared anxiously* up and *down* the road *during* the minutes *that* followed.

D. *Analyse:*
Alan explained to the old man that he was on his way to a cricket match and that he must not be late, but he seemed not to hear him.

E. *Rewrite as directed:—*

1. Daddy was nearly as excited as Alan over the

match. (Begin the sentence with 'Alan')

2. But the game had started when he arrived. (Interchange the main and subordinate clauses.)

3 The boys gave Alan three loud cheers (Change the voice.)

4. "It's all right.....your mother and I" (In indirect speech)

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LESSON 2

AT THE HIGH SCHOOL

(M. K. GANDHI)

I have already said that I was learning at the high school when I was married. We three brothers were learning at the school. The eldest brother was in a much higher class, and the brother who was married at the same time as I, was only one class ahead of me. Marriage resulted in both of us wasting a year. Indeed the result was even worse for my brother, for he gave up studies altogether. Heaven knows how many youths are in the same plight as he. Only in our present Hindu society do studies and marriage go thus hand in hand.

My studies were continued. I was not regarded as a dunce at the high school. I always enjoyed the affection of my teachers. Certificates of progress and character used to be sent to the parents every year. I never had a bad certificate. In fact I even won prizes after I passed out of the second standard. In the fifth and sixth I obtained scholarships of rupees four and ten respectively, an achievement for which I have to thank good luck more than my merit. For the scholarships were not open to all, but

reserved for the best boys amongst those coming from the Sorath Division of Kathiawad. And in those days there could not have been many boys from Sorath in a class of forty to fifty.

My own recollection is that I had not any high regard for my ability. I used to be astonished whenever I won prizes and scholarships. But I very jealously guarded my character. The least little blemish drew tears from my eyes. When I merited, or seemed to the teacher to merit, a rebuke, it was unbearable for me. I remember having once received corporal punishment. I did not so much mind the punishment, as the fact that it was considered my desert. I wept piteously. That was when I was in the first or second standard. There was another such incident during the time when I was in the seventh standard. Dorabji Edulji Gimi was the headmaster then. He was popular among boys, as he was a disciplinarian, a man of method and a good teacher. He had made gymnastics and cricket compulsory for boys of the upper standards. I disliked both. I never took part in any exercises, cricket or football, before they were made compulsory. My shyness was one of the reasons for this aloofness, which I now see was wrong. I then had the false notion that

gymnastics had nothing to do with education. Today I know that physical training should have as much place in the curriculum as mental training.

I may mention, however, that I was none the worse for abstaining from exercise. That was because I had read in books about the benefits of long walks in the open air, and having liked the advice, I had formed a habit of taking walks, which has still remained with me. These walks gave me a fairly hardy constitution.

The reason of my dislike for gymnastics was my keen desire to serve as nurse to my father. As soon as the school closed, I would hurry home and begin serving him. Compulsory exercise came directly in the way of this service. I requested Mr. Gimi to exempt me from gymnastics so that I might be free to serve my father. But he would not listen to me. Now it so happened that one Saturday, when we had school in the morning, I had to go from home to school for gymnastics at 4 o' clock in the afternoon. I had no watch, and the clouds deceived me. Before I reached the school, the boys had all left. The next day Mr. Gimi, examining the roll, found me marked absent. Being asked the reason for absence, I told him what had

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happened. He refused to believe me and ordered me to pay a fine of one or two annas. I cannot recall how much.

I was convicted of lying! That deeply pained me. How was I to prove my innocence? There was no way. I cried in deep anguish. I saw that a man of truth must also be a man of care. This was the first and last instance of my carelessness in school. I have faint recollection that I finally succeeded in getting the fine remitted. The exemption from exercise was of course obtained, as my father wrote himself to the headmaster saying that he wanted me at home after school.

But though I was none the worse for having neglected exercise, I am still paying the penalty of another neglect. I do not know whence I got the notion that good handwriting was not a necessary part of education, but I retained it until I went to England. When later, especially in South Africa, I saw the beautiful handwriting of lawyers and young men born and educated in South Africa, I was ashamed of myself and repented of my neglect. I saw that bad handwriting should be regarded as a sign of an imperfect education. I tried later to improve mine, but it was too late. I could never repair

the neglect of my youth. Let every young man and woman be warned by my example, and understand that good handwriting is a necessary part of education. I am now of opinion that children should first be taught the art of drawing before learning how to write. Let the child learn his letters by observation as he does different objects, such as flowers, birds, etc., and let him learn handwriting only after he has learnt to draw objects. He will then write a beautifully formed hand.

Two more reminiscences of my school days are worth recording. I had lost one year because of my marriage, and the teacher wanted me to make good the loss by skipping a class—a privilege usually allowed to industrious boys. I therefore had only six months in the third standard and was promoted to the fourth after the examinations which are followed by the summer vacation. English became the medium of instruction in most subjects from the fourth standard. I found myself completely at sea. Geometry was a new subject in which I was not particularly strong, and the English medium made it still more difficult for me. The teacher taught the subject very well, but I could not follow him. Often I would lose heart and think of

going back to the third standard, feeling that the packing of two years' studies into a single year was two ambitious. But this would discredit not only me, but also the teacher; because, counting on my industry he had recommended my promotion. So the fear of the double discredit kept me at my post. When however, with much effort I reached the thirteenth proposition of Euclid, the utter simplicity of the subject was suddenly revealed to me. A subject which only required a pure and simple use of one's reasoning powers could not be difficult. Ever since that time geometry has been both easy and interesting for me.

Samskrit, however, proved a harder task. In geometry there was nothing to memorize, whereas in Samskrit, I thought, everything had to be learnt by heart. This subject also was commenced from the fourth standard. As soon as I entered the sixth I became disheartened. The teacher was a hard taskmaster, anxious, as I thought, to force the boys. There was a sort of rivalry going on between the Samskrit and the Persian teachers. The Persian teacher was lenient. The boys used to talk among themselves that Persian was very easy and the Persian teacher very good and considerate to the student.

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The 'easiness' tempted me and one day I sat in the Persian class. The Samskrit teacher was grieved. He called me to his side and said : 'How can you forget that you are the son of a Vaishnava father? Won't you learn the language of your own Religion? If you have any difficulty, why not come to me? I want to teach you students Samskrit to the best of my ability. As you proceed further, you will find in it things of absorbing interest. You should not lose heart. Come and sit again in the Samskrit class.

This kindness put me to shame. I could not disregard my teacher's affection. Today I cannot but think with gratitude of Krishna Shankar Pandya. For if I had not acquired the little Samskrit that I learnt then, I should have found it difficult to take any interest in our sacred books. In fact I deeply regret that I was not able to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the language, because I have since realized that every Hindu boy and girl should possess sound Samskrit learning.

It is now my opinion that in all Indian curricula of higher education there should be a place for Hindi, Samskrit, Persian, Arabic and English, besides, of course, the vernacular. This big list need not frighten any one. If our

education were more systematic, and the boys free from the burden of having to learn their subjects through a foreign medium, I am sure learning all these languages would not be an irksome task, but a perfect pleasure. A scientific knowledge of one language makes a knowledge of other languages comparatively easy.

In reality, Hindi, Gujarathi and Samskrit, may be regarded as one language, and Persian Arabic also as one. Though Persian belongs to the Aryan, and Arabic to the Semetic family of languages, there is a close relationship between Persian and Arabic, because both claim their full growth through the rise of Islam. Urdu I have not regarded as a distinct language, because it has adopted the Hindi grammar and its vocabulary is mainly Persian and Arabic, and he who would learn good Urdu must learn Persian and Arabic, as one who would learn good Gujarathi, Hindi, Bengali, or Marathi must learn Samskrit.

NOTES

M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948) is one of the greatest men of modern times. His service in the liberation of the country from foreign rule, his steadfast attachment to the principles of truth, non-violence, equality of mankind, dignity of labour and love for humanity,

have made him immortal. Besides being a great leader, patriot, philosopher and social reformer, he was a great writer. *Guide to Health*, *Non-violence in Peace and War*, *Rama-Nama*, *Self-Restraint Vs Self-Indulgence*, and *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, are some of his important works. 'At the High School' is an extract from the 'Story of My Experiments with Truth'

plight—unhappy condition.'
recollect—remember.
jealously—with anxious care.
blemish—fault or defect.
corporal punishment—punishment inflicted on boc
my desert—what I deserved.
aloofness—keeping away from games.
notion—idea.
abstaining - keeping away.
hardy constitution—healthy body.
keen—strong.
exempt- free.
convicted—declared guilty.
deep anguish—great pains.
remitted—cancelled.
retained—held.
repented of—felt sorry for.
hand—handwriting.
reminiscences—recollections.
skipping—passing over.
at sea—perplexed.
discredit—bring bad name; disgrace.
disheartened—discouraged.
taskmaster—one who is very strict.

rivalry—competition.
considerate—kind.
absorbing—great.
lose heart—be discouraged.
curricula—course of study.
irksome—tiresome or troublesome.
distinct—separate.

EXERCISES :

A 1. Which of these—character or scholarship—was of great importance to Gandhi and why?
2. Why did Gandhi neglect gymnastics and games?
3; What are Gandhi's views regarding good handwriting?
4. What has Gandhi to say regarding the importance of learning Samskrit?

B *Explain with reference to the context :*
1. I then had the false notion that gymnastics had nothing to do with education.
2. I saw that a man of truth must also be a man of care.
3. I saw that bad handwriting should be regarded as a sign of an imperfect education.

C *(a) Frame sentences of your own using each of the following as a noun and as a verb :*
mind, result, study, progress, experience, exercise, reason, want, and hurry.
(b) Distinguish the meanings of words in the following pairs :
lied-laid, careless-carefree, vacation-vocation, many-much, hard-hardly.

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D. *Two lists of words are given below, under A and B. Pair the words which have about-the-same meaning.*

A: lenient, considerate, neglect, acquire, ambitious, anguish, repented, rebuke.

B: kind, desirous, omit, regretted, get, merciful, abuse, pain.

E. *Fill in the blanks with suitable verbs from the following list:*

rise, rose, raise, risen, raised, rising.

(*a*) I.....the lid of the box.
(*b*) He.....from his seat.
(*c*) We saw them.....from the ground.
(*d*) It is no good trying to.....a good crop this year.
(*e*) The whale had.....to the surface.

F. *Rewrite as directed, without changing the meaning:*

1. I never had a bad certificate. (Change into an affirmative sentence)
2. As soon as the school closed I hurried home. (Use no sooner than)
3. He refused to believe me and ordered me to pay a fine of one or two annas. (Change into a simple sentence)
4. I tried later to improve mine, but it was too late. (Change into a complex sentence)

LESSON 3

Uncle Podger Hangs a Picture

(JEROME K. JEROME)

You never saw such a commotion up and down a house, in all your life, as when my Uncle Podger undertook to do a job. A picture would have come home from the frame-maker's, and standing in the dining-room, waiting to be put up; and Aunt Podger would ask what was to be done with it, and Uncle Podger would say "Oh! you leave that to me. Don't you, any of you, worry yourselves about that. I'LL DO ALL THAT."

And then he would take off his coat, and begin.

He would send the girl out for six penny worth of nails, and then one of the boys after her to tell her what size to get; and, from that, he would gradually work down, and start the whole house.

"Now you go and get me my hammer, Will," he would shout; "and you bring me the rule, Tom; and I shall want the step-ladder, and I had better have a kitchen-chair, too; and Jim! you run round to Mr. Goggles, and tell him, 'Pa's kind regards, and hopes his leg's better;

and will he lend him his spirit-level?' And don't you go, Maria, because I shall want somebody to hold me the light;" and when the girl comes back, she must go out again for a bit of picture-cord; and "Tom!-where's Tom?-Tom, you come here; I shall want you to hand me up the picture."

And then he would lift up the picture, and drop it, and it would come out of the frame, and he would try to save the glass, and cut himself; and then he would spring round the room, looking for his hand-kerchief. He could not find his hand-kerchief, because it was in the pocket of the coat he had taken off, and he did not know where he had put the coat, and all the house had to leave off looking for his tools, and start looking for his coat; while he would dance round and hinder them.

"Doesn't anybody in the whole house know where my coat is? I never came across such a set in all my life. Six of you and you can't find a coat that I put down not five minutes ago! Well, of all the...."

Then he'd get up and find that he had been sitting on it, and would call out: "Oh! you can give it up! I'e found it myself now. Might just as well ask the cat to find anything

as expect you people to find it."

And, when half an hour had been spent in tying up his finger, and a new glass had been got, and the tools, and the ladder and the chair, and the candle had been brought, he would have another go, the whole family, including the girl and the charwoman, standing round in a semi-circle, ready to help. Two people would have to hold the chair, and a third would help him up on it, and hold him there, and a fourth would hand him a nail, and a fifth would pass him up the hammer, and he would take hold of the nail, and drop it.

"There!" He would say, in an injured tone, "now the nail's gone."

And we would all have to go down on our knees and grovel for it, while he would stand on the chair, and grunt, and want to know if he was to be kept there all the evening.

The nail would be found at last, but by that time he would have lost the hammer.

"Where's the hammer? What did I do with the hammer? Great heavens! Seven of you, gaping round there, and you don't know what I did with the hammer!"

We would find the hammer for him, and then he would have lost sight of the mark he had

made on the wall, where the nail was to go in, and each of us had to get up on the chair, beside him, and see if we could find it; and we would each discover it in a different place, and he would call us all fools, one after another, and tell us to get down. And he would take the rule, and remeasure, and find that he wanted half thirty-one and three-eighths inches from the corner, and would try to do it in his head, and go mad.

And we would all try to do it in our heads, and all arrive at different results, and sneer at one another. And in the general row, the original number would be forgotten, and Uncle Podger would have to measure it again.

He would use a bit of string this time, and at the critical moment, when the old fool was leaning over the chair at an angle of forty-five, and trying to reach a point three inches beyond what was possible for him to reach, the string would slip, and down he would slide on to the piano, a really fine musical effect being produced by the suddenness with which his head and body struck all the notes at the same time.

And Aunt Maria would say that she would not allow the children to stand round and hear such language.

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At last, Uncle Podger would get the spot fixed again, and put the point of the nail on it with his left hand, and take the hammer in his right hand. And, with the first blow, he would smash his thumb, and drop the hammer with a yell, on some-body's toes.

Aunt Maria would mildly observe that, next time Uncle Podger was going to hammer a nail into the wall, she hoped he'd let her know in time, so that she could make arrangements to go and spend a week with her mother while it was being done.

"Oh! you women, you make such a fuss over every-thing." Uncle Podger would reply, picking himself up. "Why, I like doing a little job of this sort."

And then he would have another try, and, at the second blow, the nail would go clean through the plaster; and half the hammer after it, and Uncle Podger be precipitated against the wall with force nearly sufficient to flatten his nose.

Then we had to find the rule and the string again, and a new hole was made; and, about midnight, the picture would be up—very crooked and insecure, the wall for yards round looking as if it had been smoothed down with a rake,

and every body dead beat and wretched—except Uncle Podger.

"There you are," he would say, stepping heavily off the chair on to the charwoman's corns and surveying the mess he had made with evident pride, "why, some people would have had a man in to do a little thing like that."

NOTES

Jerome K Jerome (1859-1923) is one of the most humorous among the modern writers of Prose. He has achieved fame as a playwright, essayist, and novelist. He made his mark as the Editor of "The Idler" and of "Today".

'Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow' and 'Three Men in a Boat' are perhaps the most important and interesting of his prose works. 'Uncle Podger hangs a Picture' is an extract taken from the latter. In it Uncle Podger is described as a comic example of a fussy old man who fancies himself as a very practical man.

commotion—confusion.

start—rouse.

step ladder—a ladder with flat steps and a hinged prop, not made to lean against a wall.

spirit-level—A glass tube used in surveying to find the level of land.

have another go—make another attempt.

charwoman—a woman hired by day to do odd, domestic work.

grovel—to crawl (especially in fear).

grunt—make low, gruff sound to show discontent.
gaping—staring with open mouth.
go mad—get very angry.
row—uproar; brawl.
yell—scream from pain.
precipitated—was thrown headlong.
insecure—unsafe.
rake—an impliment with teeth or pins.
dead beat—quite tired.
corn—small and hard growth chiefly on the toe or foot.
surveying—examining in detail.

Exercises.

A.—1. What were the jobs assigned to each member when Uncle Podger hung a picture?
2. Why did he make a great commotion about his coat and kerchief?
3. Describe the mess made by him when the various things were brought.
4. Give instances of his absent-mindedness.

B. *Use the following in sentences of your own:*—
to have another go; take off; to sneer at; to lose sight of; at the critical moment.

C. *Rewrite as directed:*—
(i) And Aunt Maria .....language. (Use the other voice.)
(ii) He smashed his thumb and dropped the hammer. (as a simple sentence.)
(iii) And then he would have another try. (with the verb form of 'try'.)

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(iv) Uncle Podger said, "Oh, you leave that to me. Don't you worry yourselves about that. I'll do all that." (In indirect form of narration)

D. *Analyse :*

(a) We *would* find the *hammer for* him, and *then* he would *have* lost *sight* of the mark he had *made* on the wall.

(b) Parse the words *in italics* in the sentence above.

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LESSON 4

SAWYER LATE NOCKEMORF

(CHARLES DICKENS)

Bending his steps towards the Royal Hotel, he found a coach on the point of starting for Bristol, and, thinking Bristol as good a place for his purpose as any other he could go to, he mounted the box, and reached his place of destination in such time as the pair of horses, who went the whole stage and back again, twice a day or more, could be reasonably supposed to arrive there.

He took up his quarters at The Bush, and, designing to postpone any communication by letter with Mr. Pickwick until it was probable that Mr. Dowlder's wrath might have in some degree evaporated, walked forth to view the city, which struck him as being a shade more dirty than any place he had ever seen. Having inspected the docks and shipping, and viewed the cathedral, he inquired his way to Clifton, and being directed thither, took the route which was pointed out to him. But as the pavements of Bristol are not the widest or cleanest upon earth, so its streets are not altogether the straightest or least intricate; and Mr. Winkle, being greatly

puzzled by their manifold windings and twistings, looked about him for a decent shop in which he could apply afresh for counsel and instruction.

His eyes fell upon a newly-painted tenement, which had been recently converted into something between a shop and a private-house, and which a red lamp, projecting over the fan-light of the street-door, would have sufficiently announced as the residence of a medical practitioner, even if the word "Surgery" had not been inscribed in golden characters on a wainscot ground, above the window of what, in times bygone, had been the front parlour. Thinking this an eligible place wherein to make his inquiries, Mr. Winkle stepped into the little shop where the gilt-labelled drawers and bottles were; and finding nobody there, knocked with a half-crown on the counter, to attract the attention of anybody who might happen to be in the back parlour, which he judged to be the innermost and peculiar sanctum of the establishment, from the repetition of the word surgery on the door—painted in white letters this time, by way of taking off the monontony.

At the first knock, a sound, as of persons fencing with fire-irons, which had until now

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been very audible, suddenly ceased; at the second, a studious-looking young gentleman in green spectacles, with a very large book in his hand, glided quietly into the shop, and stepping behind the counter, requested to know the visitor's pleasure.

"I am sorry to trouble you, sir," said Mr. Winkle, "but will you have the goodness to direct me to—"

"Ha! ha! ha!" roared the studious young gentleman, throwing the large book up into the air, and catching it with great dexterity at the very moment when it threatened to smash to atoms all the bottles on the counter. "Here's a start!"

There was, without doubt; for Mr. Winkle was so very much astonished at the extraordinary behaviour of the medical gentleman, that he involuntarily retreated towards the door, and looked very much disturbed at his strange reception.

"What, don't you know me?" said the medical gentleman.

Mr. Winkle murmured, in reply, that he had not that pleasure.

"Why, then," said the medical gentleman, "there are hopes for me yet; I may attend

half the old women in Bristol, if I've decent luck. Get out, you mouldy old villain, get out!" With this adjuration, which was addressed to the large book, the medical gentleman kicked the volume with remarkable agility to the farther end of the shop, and pulling off his green spectacles, grinned the identical grin of Robert Sawyer, Esquire, formerly of Guy's Hospital in the Borough, with a private residence in Lant Street.

"You don't mean to say you weren't down upon me?" said Mr. Bob Sawyer, shaking Mr. Winkle's hand with friendly warmth.

"Upon my word I was not," replied Mr. Winkle, returning his pressure.

"I wonder you didn't see the name," said Bob Sawyer, calling his friend's attention to the outer door, on which, in the same white paint, were traced the words "Sawyer, late Nockemorf."

"It never caught my eye," returned Mr. Winkle.

"Lord, if I had known who you were, I should have rushed out, and caught you in my arms," said Bob Sawyer; "but upon my life, I thought you were the King's-taxes."

"No!" said Mr. Winkle.

"I did, indeed," responded Bob Sawyer, "and I was just going to say that I wasn't at home, but if you'd leave a message I'd be sure to give it to myself; for he don't know me. I think the Church-rates guesses who I am, and I know the Water-works does, because I drew a tooth of his when I first came down here. But come in, come in!" Chattering in this way, Mr. Bob Sawyer pushed Winkle into the back room, where, amusing himself by boring little circular caverns in the chimney-piece with a red-hot poker, sat no less a person than Mr. Benjamin Allen.

"Well!" said Mr. Winkle. "This is indeed a pleasure I did not expect. What a very nice place you have here!"

"Pretty well, pretty well," replied Bob Sawyer. "I passed soon after that precious party, and my friends came down with the needful for this business; so I put on a black suit of clothes, and a pair of spectacles, and came here to look as solemn as I could."

"And a very snug little business you have, no doubt?" said Mr. Winkle knowingly.

"Very," replied Bob Sawyer. "So snug that at the end of a few years you might put all the profits in a wine-glass, and cover 'em over

with a gooseberry leaf."

"You cannot surely mean that?" said Mr. Winkle. "The stock itself...."

"Dummies, dear boy," said Bob Sawyer; "half the drawers have nothing in 'em, and other half don't open."

"Nonsense!" said Mr. Winkle.

"Fact-honour!" returned Bob Sawyer, stepping out into the shop, and demonstrating the veracity of the assertion by divers hard pulls at the little gilt knobs on the counterfeit drawers. "Hardly anything real in the shop but the leeches, and they are second-hand."

"I shouldn't have thought it!" exclaimed Mr. Winkle, much surprised.

"I hope not," replied Bob Sawyer; "else where is the use of appearances, eh? But what will you take? Do as we do? That's right. Ben, my fine fellow, put your hand into the cupboard, and bring out the patent digester."

Mr. Benjamin Allen smiled his readiness, and produced from the closet at his elbow a black bottle half full of brandy.

"You don't take water, of course?" said Bob Sawyer.

"Thank you," replied Mr. Winkle. "It's rather early. I should like to qualify it, if you

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have no objection."

"None in the least, if you can reconcile it to your conscience," replied Bob Sawyer, tossing off, as he spoke, a glass of the liquor with great relish. "Ben, the pipkin!"

Mr. Benjamin Allen drew forth, from the same hiding-place, a small brass pipkin, which Bob Sawyer observed he prided himself upon, particularly because it looked so business-like. The water in the professional pipkin having been made to boil, in course of time, by various little shovelfuls of coal, which Mr. Bob Sawyer took out of a practicable window-seat, labelled "Soda Water", Mr. Winkle adulterated his brandy; and the conversation was becoming general, when it was interrupted by the entrance into the shop of a boy, in sober gray livery and a gold-laced hat, with a small covered basket under his arm; whom Mr. Bob Sawyer immediately hailed with, "Tom, you vagabond, come here."

The boy presented himself accordingly.

"You've been stopping to over all the posts in Bristol, you idle young scamp!" said Mr. Bob Sawyer.

"No, Sir, I haven't" replied the boy.

"You had better not!" said Mr. Bob

Sawyer, with a threatening aspect. "Who do, you suppose will ever employ a professional man, when they see his boy playing at marbles, in the gutter, or flying the garter in the horse-road? Have you no feeling for your profession, you groveller? Did you leave all the medicine?"

"Yes, sir,"

"The powders for the child, at the large house with the new family, and the pills to be taken four times a day at the ill-tempered old gentleman's with the gouty leg?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Then shut the door, and mind the shop."

"Come," said Mr. Winkle, as the boy retired, "things are not quite so bad as you would have me believe, either. There is some medicine to be sent out."

Mr. Bob Sawyer peeped into the shop to see that no stranger was within hearing, and leaning forward to Mr. Winkle, said, in a low tone, "He leaves it all at the wrong houses."

Mr. Winkle looked perplexed, and Bob Sawyer and his friend laughed.

"Don't you see?" said Bob. "He goes up to a house, rings the area bell, pokes a packet of medicine without a direction into the servant's hand, and walks off. Servant takes it into the

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dining parlour; master opens it, and reads the label: 'Draught to be taken at bed-time—pills as before—lotion as usual—the powder. From Sawyer's late Nockemorf's. Physicians' prescriptions carefully prepared,' and all the rest of it. Shows it to his wife—she reads the label; it goes down to the servants—they read the label. Next day, boy calls: 'Very sorry—his mistake—immense business—great many parcels to deliver—Mr. Sawyer's compliments—late Nockemorf.' The name gets known, and that's the thing my boy, in the medical way. Bless your heart, old fellow, it's better than all the advertising in the world. We have got one four-ounce bottle that's been to half the houses in Bristol, and hasn't done yet."

"Dear me, I see," observed Mr. Winkle; What an excellent plan!"

"Oh, Ben and I have hit upon a dozen such," replied Bob Sawyer, with great glee. "The lamplighter has eighteenpence a week to pull the night-bell for ten minutes every time he comes round; and my boy always rushes into the church just before the psalms, when the people have got nothing to do but look about 'em, and calls me out, with horror and dismay depicted on his countenance. 'Bless my soul,'

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everybody says, 'somebody taken suddenly ill!' Sawyer, late Nockemorf. What a business that young man has!"

At the termination of this disclosure of some of the mysteries of medicine, Mr. Bob Sawyer and his friend, Ben Allen, threw themselves back in their respective chairs, and laughed boisterously. When they had enjoyed the joke to their hearts' content, the discourse changed to topics in which Mr. Winkle was more immediately interested.

NOTES

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) was a great novelist of the 19th century England. His novels are marked by humour and pathos. Some of his famous novels are: *Oliver Twist; David Copperfield; Old Curiosity shop; Nicholas Nickeleby; Little Dorrit; and A Tale of Two Cities.* This passage is taken from his famous novel 'Pickwick Papers' which describes the amusing adventures, of the members of the Pickwick Club. During some of their adventures, they had come across two medical students, Bob Sawyer and Benjamin Allen. This passage describes how Mr. Winkle, a member of the Pickwick club, met Bob Sawyer again, and learnt about his ingenious plan to become famous.

box—driver's seat in front of a carriage.

stage—interval between stopping places.

docks—basin where the ships are unloaded and repaired.

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intricate—complicated.
manifold—many.
tenement—set of rooms used by one family.
fanlight—fan-shaped window over door.
wainscot—A wooden lining or boarding of the walls of apartment.
parlour—sitting room in a house.
sanctum—holy place.
mouldy—dull.
church rates—payments to the church.
veracity—truthfulness.
counterfeit—not genuine.
groveller—a base fellow.
gouty—leg with big toe swollen.
psalms—sacred songs.
fire-irons—tongs.
to 'over all the posts': to jump over the posts (as boys usually do)

Exercises

A

(1) Why did Mr. Winkle look about him for a decent shop when he was in Bristol?
What made him retreat towards the door on seeing the medical gentleman?
(2) What words of Bob Sawyer show that Mr. Winkle was no stranger to him?
Whom did he take him to be when he heard him knocking?
What would he have done if he had known it was Mr. Winkle?

(3) "And a snug little business you have, no doubt" said Mr. Winkle knowingly.

What made Mr. Winkle think that it was so? Why was it not really so?

(4) "Oh! Ben and I have hit upon a dozen such!" replied Bob Sawyer, with great glee.

What was the plan that Sawyer was referring to? What other plans had he adopted to become well-known?

B

Explain with reference to the context:

1. "Ha! Ha! Ha! Here's a start!"
2. "Get out, you mouldy villain, get out!"
3. "So snug that at the end of a few years you might put all the profits in a wine-glass and cover them over with a gooseberry leaf".

C

Complete the following statements, choosing the most appropriate clause from those given below:

1. Mr. Winkle looked about him for a decent shop because.....
   (i) he needed certain articles urgently.
   (ii) he wanted to meet his friend.
   (iii) he had lost his way and needed instruction.
   (iv) he liked to see how business was conducted in Bristol.
2. Mr. Winkle could have easily recognised that it was the residence of a medical practitioner because.....
   (i) his friend Bob Sawyer who was a medical practioner lived there.

(ii) a red lamp was projecting over the fan-light of the street door.

(iii) the word 'Surgeon' was written in golden characters on the wainscot ground over the window in the parlour.

(iv) there were gilt-labelled drawers and bottles inside the shop.

D

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context :

1. Mr. Sawyer did not want to be taken for the doctor when he went to answer the knock of the visitor because.....
2. Mr. Winkle did not recognise his old acquaintance Bob Sawyer in his.....
3. If the visitor were not Mr. Winkle, Bob Sawyer would have said.....
4. Half the drawers in the shop of Mr. Sawyer... .....and the other half.....
5. Mr. Winkle thought that things were not so bad with Sawyer as he would have him believe for.....
6. Mr. Winkle looked perplexed when he heard that the boy.....

E

1. Give the meanings of: design: project (v): dummy; snug; perplex; discourse; peculiar.
2. Show that you know the meanings of the following pairs of words by using them in sentences of your own:

destiny-destination; route-rout; eligible-illegi-

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ble; quite-quiet; counsel-council; recent-resent.

3. Illustrate the use of the following phrases in sentences: to hit upon; to put on; on the point of.

F

Turn into Indirect Speech the conversation beginning with, "Well!" said Mr. Winkle "This is indeed a pleasure.....", and ending with ".....with a goosebery leaf."

G

Rewrite as directed:

1. Mr. Winkle knocked on the counter to attract the attention of somebody in the back parlour. (as a complex sentence)
2. "What an excellent plan!" observed Mr. Winkle. (as an assertive sentence)
3. "It's better than all the advertising in the world." (Change the degree of comparison)
4. "Did you leave all the medicine?" (Change the voice)

H

Analyse:

His eye fell upon a newly painted tenement which had been recently converted into something between a shop and a private house, and which a red lamp projecting over the fan-light of the street door, would have

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sufficiently announced as the residence of a medical practitioner even if the word 'surgery' had not been inscribed in golden characters on the wainscot ground above the window of what in times begone, had been the front parlour.

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LESSON 5

COURAGE IN A CUPBOARD

(ANTHONY DEAN-e-DRUMMOND)

I could not see any way to escape that gave a better than fifty-fifty chance of success. So I looked everywhere for a hiding place that would hold me for two or three days. The only possible place seemed to be a wall cup-board in one of the ground floor rooms, which had a flush-fitting concealed door. The whole door was covered with the same sort of wallpaper as that of the rest of the room, and was difficult to see except on close examination. The cupboard was about four feet across, twelve inches deep, and about seven feet high. Its interior was divided horizontally by adjustable shelves, but by removing the shelves I was able to stand inside in tolerable comfort.

Fastening the door was a problem. The cupboard was fitted with the normal type of mortice lock let into the thickness of the door, with a keyhole on the outside complete with key. By unscrewing the lock, and turning it back to front, the keyhole came on the inside of the door and I was able to lock myself in. A piece of wallpaper, torn from another part of the room

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and pasted over the outside keyhole, helped to conceal the cupboard's presence.

The next job was to lay in a stock of water and food. All I had was my waterbottle, and I found an old two pound jam jar that I also filled up. A one-pound tin of lard and half a small loaf of bread completed all the provisioning I could do. Some of the officers very kindly offered to give me their waterbottles, but I refused. They would need them for their own escape, which, I reminded them, they must try to make or be a prisoner for the rest of the war.

Little did I think that I would be confined to my cramped little cupboard for thirteen days and nights before getting out. I thought that the limit of my endurance would be reached after three or four days, because I did not start off in the best condition for an endurance test. The Germans came round on the evening of the 22nd to take all names, and in order to avoid a record being taken I started standing in my cupboard.

Pole-squatting is I believe a time-honoured sport in the U. S. A. I cannot recommend cupboard-standing to anybody who wants to try out something new. I stood first on one

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leg then on the other; then I leaned on one shoulder and then on the other. There was no room to sit down because the cupboard was too shallow. I managed to sleep all right although occasionally my knees would give way and would drop forward against the door making a hammer-like noise. Every bone in my body ached, and I felt quite light-headed from lack of food, water and rest.

The day after I locked myself in the cupboard the Germans turned the room into an interrogation centre. Every officer and man going through that cage was first interrogated in the room where my cupboard was. It was certainly an interesting experience, which I believe has never before been rivalled, though I scarcely appreciated its uniqueness at the time. We in the army had always been instructed that if ever we were made prisoner, the only information that we should give would be our army number, rank, and name. The Germans knew this, of course, but tried every guile to get more information. The usual trick was to pretend that they were filling out a card for the Red Cross, and ask a series of innocuous questions until the prisoner was at ease, when a question of military importance would suddenly pop up.

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It was a surprising thing to me that very few officers or men gave only their number, rank and name. Almost everybody gave a little additional harmless information, such as the address of their parents or wives, or whether they were regular soldiers or had been in the T. A. before the war.

Only two gave away military information. One was a captain in the Glider Pilots, and another was the batman to a company commander of the leading battalion of relieving Second Army. This battalion had assaulted across the Rhine opposite the division's perimeter in order to allow the successful withdrawal of the division. These two men, who shall be nameless, gave all the information they knew or were capable of giving. Luckily neither was in possession of any real military secrets and no great harm was done, except to my pride. The officer talked so much, and seemed so promising a source of information, that he was given lunch just in front of my cupboard door. What agonies of mind and tummy to hear all this coming out, and to smell what seemed to be a delicious meal only a few yards from my hiding place! I nearly burst out of the cupboard on several occasions to stop the wretch giving

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information. I think I would have done so if he had started to say anything serious. Luckily he did not know much, and I kept my peace and exercised self-control over my mental anguish.

The questioning went on for several days, four or five, I think, and by night the room was used as sleeping quarter for the German guard. I had no chances to get out at all, but as I had lasted so far, I resolved to try to remain a little longer. My luck must come to my rescue. It had always done so up till now.....

It was now October 5th, 1944, and the thirteenth day of my voluntary confinement. My water was nearly at an end, and cramp in my muscles hurt acutely most of the time. Patience and caution were now finished, and I told myself that I would have to make an attempt to escape that evening or fail in the effort.

The room outside my cupboard was still full of Germans, but provided no new prisoners came in that evening there would be a good chance of the whole guard leaving the room empty for half an hour or so at sunset. On the previous evening they had all cleared out of the room and hung over the garden wall

adjoining the main road outside my window, to watch the passers-by in the twilight. I suppose it is a world-wide habit to come out of the houses on a warm evening for a breather before going back inside for the night. The only thing that might spoil it would be new prisoners; but there had not been any last night, so with any luck I would get away to-night.

I slowly shifted my weight from one leg to the other, and leaned alternately on my right shoulder and then my left. By now, shifting my position had become almost automatic, and no longer required any thought or even consciousness. My mouth was dry as a bone, but I had already had both my dawn and midday mouthfuls. My evening one was not due for another two hours yet. To night I would take three mouthfuls of water. What bliss this promised to be!

It was due to get dark about 7-30 P.M. or 8 P.m., and I hoped the room would clear about 7 P.M. I would then have to hide up in the bushes near the house for an hour, till it was really dark, before it would be possible to move round to the back of the house and get away.

The minutes slowly crept by while I waited

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anxiously, my ears taut for the sound of the Germans leaving the room. Occasionally one of them would go in or out, but I could hear snores from two or three having an after-lunch nap. At about six o'clock I pulled on my boots and smock and gathered all my equipment. Dressing in that cupboard was a work of art, and to avoid making a noise it was three-quarters of an hour before I was ready. While I was dressing I heard two Germans stumble out of the room, but I was fairly certain that there were one or two more. Sure enough, by their grunts and the bumping of boots on the floor, I heard two more get up and go out talking about a fraulein.

The time had come. Cautiously I unlocked my door. There might still be the odd square-head making up arrears of sleep. I opened the door an inch and had a quick look round. Damnation take it, there, not six feet away, was a solitary German soldier sleeping with his hands crossed over his tummy and his mouth wide open! As I had to walk across the floor and open the big French windows, which were both noisy operations. I decided to give him another half hour.

A few troops came clattering into the

building. I heard them go upstairs and enter the room directly over my head, and they soon had quite a merry party going with songs and a gramophone. I was in luck. They were probably not expecting any visitiors to-night, and if the noise increased as the wine flowed I should have no worries about covering up squeaks as I opened a window.

The noise upstairs woke up my sleeping soldier after about twenty minutes, and he got up and walked out. This was my chance and taking a couple of mouthfuls of water, I gently pushed the door open again. This time the room was empty. I could see the guards lining the garden fence on the main road and not ten yards away. My plan was to get the window open and then wait for a lorry or tank to go by before slipping out and into the shrubs growing almost under the sill. Germans would be most unlikely to look back towards the house when anything interesting was passing.

I was in luck and no sooner had I opened the windows when a large truck went clattering by. This was my cue, and I was quickly out and had dropped into the shrubbery. My luck held good on the thirteenth day in that Dutch cupboard.

I quickly crawled into the bushes where they were thickest at the corner of the house, and concealed myself as best I could with dead leaves. From where I was, I could see eight or ten of the guards idly leaning against the garden fence a few yards away and could hear them chatting unconcernedly about the war in general and their sweethearts at home. From the window above came occasional strains of gramophone records.

It gradually grew dark and one by one the Germans left the fence and went back inside the house. Forty-five minutes later it was black enough to start moving, and stealthily I crept to the back and climbed over the fence into an adjoining garden. The bottom part of the garden was all vegetables, and I quickly pulled some beetroots up, wiped off most of the mud on the seat of my trousers, and chewed them eagerly. The juicy sweetness of the beetroot tasted wonderful, but I don't suppose it did my stomach much good.

From the garden I climbed through another fence into an orchard, and was soon feasting on some excellent apples. I would not have bothered about the beetroot if I had known about the orchard, and rapidly I munched my way

through half a dozen apples. I could feel renewed strength and vitality seeping back into my veins, and I stretched my arms and legs with the joy of freedom and relief from that terrible cupboard. My legs were incredibly weak, but I was now full of hope and my brain was again functioning more or less normally.

My plan was now to contact a friendly Dutch family, who might give me some civilian clothes. Once I had these, I should not find it too difficult to move about and find a way back to our own lines. I decided I might as well try the houses nearby. If the Germans did suspect that the cupboard had housed an escaper, which I thought most unlikely, then they would never guess that he was hiding within a few hundred yards of his late prison. Also the more I moved around with a thirteen-day beard, the more likely I was to be discovered.

Stuffing a few apples into my pocket, I moved down the bottom of the orchard where it joined on to some gardens at the back of a row of houses. The fence was a high one and made of close mesh wire, but I soon found a hole underneath and wormed my way through. The houses were the usual brick-built semi-detached sub-urban types, and I could see no reason

against tapping on the door of the first one I came to, telling them who I was, and asking for shelter.

I tiptoed past a coal shed and knocked gently on a door of a house with its bottom windows still lit up but screened with black-out curtains. Eventually I heard a voice asking who was there in Dutch. In halting German I stammered out:

"I am a British parachutist. Please give me food and shelter."

"Go away quickly," he replied in equally bad German; "my house is full. We have no food. Very dangerous to have you here."

The whole conversation was conducted through the closed door, and in the end he did not wait for me to answer and I heard him stamping off to another room.

I walked away feeling rather depressed as I had fondly imagined that all the Dutch were Pro-British and Anti-Nazi. Although at this stage of the war the majority were wholeheartedly pro-British, there was a very strong minority who still clung to their Nazi beliefs and still hoped for a German miracle victory. It was also, of course, a comparatively small percentage who were prepared to take the risk of

harbouring a British soldier. They knew the consequences only too well if they were caught. They would be shot and their families sent to concentration camps. All their property would be sold or even burnt down. This increased the respect which I have for the Dutchmen whom I met later who were prepared to take any risk which would help towards winning the war against their hated German rulers.

Disconsolately I walked back a few paces and decided to rest in a small coal shed to collect my thoughts before my next move. I would cross the road and try a house on the opposite side. I would go round to the back, where perhaps I might find a more friendly family than the one which I had tried first.

I came out of the shed, and after passing between two houses, crouched in the shadow of a wall while a German army truck swept by full of troops. As soon as it had rounded the bend, I walked quickly across the road and between two more houses on the opposite side. Once more I tapped on a door but to no avail. The time was now about 11 P.M. and all were in bed.

I tried three more houses and still got no reply. But I noticed saucers left lying outside the back doors of all three houses: they were

full of scraps off plates, and presumably left for cats. I was so hungry that I went from door to door wolfing the scraps, which really tasted excellent. Eventually I had quite a reasonable meal, and I decided that the best plan was to hide in one of the sheds at the back of the houses and wait there till morning. I chose the one which had the biggest place of scraps—they surely must be charitable people—and soon nestled down in an old potting shed full of seed trays and broken furniture.

I slept well and woke at dawn to watch for any sign of the inhabitants, so that I could make myself known to them as early as possible. Gradually I heard the house wake up, the alarm clock go off, sleepy yawns come from a window; and finally a man looked out at the morning sky. Half an hour went by and the back door was opened, so that I could look straight into the kitchen where a girl of about twenty was cooking on a stove and a man swept out the kitchen and then cleaned his shoes. Eventually he shaved, put on his jacket and came towards my hiding place, presumably to get some firewood.

As he came in through the door I said "Good morning" in German, and to give him his due, he did not appear to be in the least taken aback.

Speaking German in whispers I told him my story and asked him if he could help. He understood me quite easily and replied that he would do his best but that there were a lot of children nearby who might stumble on me whilst playing and give me away. He said he could not hide me in his house, but he would try to find a place where I could go that night. He would also see about some food. I thanked him with a terrific handshake, and with a wink he turned towards the house and beckoned his wife to come over to the shed.

At first she would not do so; but after a bit she came over, looking rather cross, and walked into the shed. She suddenly saw me and let out a scream, clutching her husband for protection and looking thoroughly frightened. I do not suppose I was a very edifying sight, with my ginger beard, camouflage airborne smoke, and torn, dirty battledress trousers. It was the first time, and I hope the last, that a woman has screamed with terror on seeing me. However, her fears were soon put at rest, and she went back to the house with her husband to prepare a meal, although still with rather a scared look in her eyes.

In the meantime I had a look round my hut

1205

to find a possible hiding place, in case any children came near, or the Germans made a search. There were some horizontal wooden beams under the roof, and at one end a few planks had been placed across them to hold up some bales of straw. At first sight this looked the best hiding place, but its big disadvantage was that it was also easily the most obvious. Anybody coming into that hut would immediately be attracted by the pile of straw up in the roof. I therefore decided to hide under a pile of loosely stacked seed-boxes and apple trays that littered the floor. By arranging these in the manner of a tunnel I crawled in underneath and pulled some old sacks on top of me. Even if somebody had peered down through the clutter of trays, he would only have seen a pile of sacks at the bottom.

Hiding, always hiding! What a monotonous and horrible business! But I could not afford to walk about in daylight unwashed, unshaven, and dressed as I was. Before I had had time to make myself really comfortable the good lady of the house brought out an enormous plate of boiled potatoes over which she had poured a savoury gravy. It smelt like a banquet fit for kings. I had soon wolfed this down and

then swallowed about a pint of ersatz coffee, which made me feel as if I had not slept for weeks.

I woke up to the clink and thud of heavy military boots tramping in the yard outside, and the sound of German voices. From the snatches of conversation I gathered that they were accusing the Dutch family of sheltering a British officer. In halting German he flatly denied the accusations, but I could imagine him being brushed aside and I could hear the Germans walking upstairs and banging open doors and cupboards. I was scared stiff and pulled the sacks even closer, hoping against hope that they would leave out my shed. Obviously the news of my presence had leaked out and the German security police were already on my trail. What a horrible thought!

I then heard them come banging downstairs, out into the yard and straight towards my hut. I could hear some one's heavy breathing as he paused just inside the doorway to allow his eyes to get used to the gloom, and also the expostulations of my good Dutch host in the background. As I had thought, the first place he looked at was the straw up in the rafters. Muttering oaths, the German climbed up and pulled away at the

straw bales, which came crashing down to the floor. As soon as he had satisfied himself that there was nobody there, he did not bother to look anywhere else, and left the shed, after which I could hear them leaving the courtyard to go somewhere else.

Once again my luck was in, and I was round another tight corner.

NOTES

This passage is taken from the book "The Return Ticket" by Major (now lieutenant colonel) Deane—Drummond. It describes what happened to him when he tried to escape from the Germans towards the end of the Second World-War. Thinking that they were about to be moved into Germany, he determined to hide himself somewhere in the house where he was confined with 500 others. He hid himself in a cupboard only onefoot deep, hoping that the Germans would evacuate it in a day or two. But thirteen days had to pass before he could get a chance to get out of the cupboard. This passage reveals the great patriotism of a British soldier.

flush-fitting door: a door which is on a level with the surface of the wall, with no raised edge or projection to show that there is a door.

concealed—hidden

mortice-lock—lock let into a hole made in a door.

lard—pig-fat used for cooking.

cramped—narrow.

light headed—delirious; wildly excited.

interrogation centre—place where the captives are questioned.

cage—prison.

guile—deceit.

innocuous—harmless.

pop up—put quickly in.

T. A.—Territorial Army.

batman—person in charge of horse.

assaulted—attacked.

tummy—stomach.

cramp—contraction in muscles owing to sudden chill or strain.

breather—a short period of exercise.

smock—a kind of semi-water proof camouflage garment worn by parachutists.

fraulein—German woman.

strains—music.

harbouring—sheltering.

disconsolately—disappointed; forlorn.

crouched—stooped; bent.

to be taken aback—disconcerted; surprised.

looking rather cross—looking somewhat angry.

camouflage—disguise.

scared look—frightened, startled look.

trail—track.

expostulations—protests.

tight corner—difficult situation.

Exercises

A

1. Why did Major Drummond hide himself in a cupboard?
   What preparations did he make before he hid himself?
   What agonies had he to suffer inside the cupboard?
2. What actions of the major, after he left the cupboard show that he was very hungry?
3. How did the Second Dutchman help the major? Why was it a fearful risk? Why did he attempt it?
4. "Once again my luck was in and I was round another tight corner."
   Describe the situations in which the major might have suffered but for his luck.

B

nplete the following statements choosing the appropriate se or phrase from those given below :

1. Mr. Deane-Drummond hid himself in the cupboard because.....
   (*a*) he wanted to listen to the interrogations of the prisoners.
   (*b*) he could sleep comfortably.
   (*c*) it was the only way to escape with a better chance of success.
   (*d*) he could find plenty to eat and drink.
2. He nearly burst out of the cupboard on several occasions to.....

(*a*) stop a wretched officer from giving information.

(*b*) run away from the place.

(*c*) kill the German officers.

(*d*) get food.

3. His respect increased for the Dutchman whom he met later and who were.....

(*a*) very hospitable.

(*b*) dressed well.

(*c*) unwilling to take him in.

(*d*) prepared to risk the consequences.

C

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context

1. The presence of the cupboard was concealed by .....

2. He refused the kind offers of the officers to give him their water bottles because.....

3. He had thought that the limit of his endurance would be reached.....days but he had to remain in the cupboard for.....days.

4. To hear all the information coming out and to smell what seemed to be a delicious meal only a few yards from his hiding place filled him with.....

5. It is a world-wide habit to come out of the houses on a warm evening for a..... before going back inside for the night.

6. Few men were prepared to take the risk of harbouring a British officer as the consequences were (a).....(b).....(c).....

7. When the good lady of the house brought out an enormous plate of boiled potatoes over which she had poured a savoury gravy it smelt like.....

D

1. Give the meanings of:—problem; time-honoured; pretend; agony; self-control; rescue; passers-by; cue; unconcernedly; munch; miracle; edifying; monotonous; accusation; host.
2. Give the antonyms of:—conceal; shallow; presence; sweetness; friendly; deny.
3. Give the plurals of:—shelf; loaf; wife.
4. Use the following phrases in sentences of your own:—a fifty-fifty chance; to give away; limit of endurance; a tight corner.

E

Write in the indirect form of narration:

In halting German, I stammered out, "I am a British parachutist. Please give me food and shelter."

"Go away quickly," he replied in an equally bad German, "My house is full. We have no food. Very dangerous to have you here."

F

Rewrite as directed:

1. I did not start off in the best condition for an endurance test. (remove the negative)
2. Only two gave away military information. (as a negative sentence)

3. What agonies of mind and tummy! (as an assertive sentence)
4. No sooner had I opened the windows when a large truck went clattering by." (change the subordinate clause into the principal clause)
5. They would be shot and their families sent to concentration camps. (change voice)
6. It smelt like a banquet fit for kings. (as a complex sentence)

Analyse :

We in the army had always been instructed that if ever we were made prisoners, the only information that we should give, would be our army number, rank and name.

LESSON 6.

The Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin

Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, 'This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.'

And he spoke this parable unto them, saying, 'What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, "Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost." I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.

'Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it? And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, "Rejoice with me; for I have found

the piece which I had lost." Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

NOTES

This passage is taken from Chapter XV of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Gospels are four in number, the other three being the Gospel of St. Mark, the Gospel of St John and the Gospel of St. Matthew. They describe the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, and form the new Testament.

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The word 'parable' is sometimes used in the Bible in a large and general sense and applied to short sayings or maxims expressed in figurative, proverbial or poetical manner. But the parable by Jesus, stands for a simple story from ordinary life intended to convey a moral or spiritual lesson.

This parable deals with God's great concern for and joy at the repentance of the sinner and his return to the fold.

publican—tax collector.
pharisee—Orthodox jew.
scribe—Jewish theologian and jurist.
repenteth—feels sorry for.
diligently—most carefully.

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EXERCISES

A. *Answer the following* :

1. Why did Christ tell the Pharisees and the scribes the Parable of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin ?
2. Give the Parable in about 15 lines.
3. Explain with reference to the context :—
   (*a*) Rejoice with me ; for I have found my sheep which was lost.
   (*b*) I say unto you.....sinner that repenteth.

B. *Read the Parable of the Prodigal Son.*

LESSON 7

GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining for

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us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

NOTES

This is a famous speech made by Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), one of the wisest and greatest of the Presidents) of the United States of America. Great courage, foresight, humility and steadfastness of purpose, made him a great leader, and his 'genius for expression' made him one of the most famous orators. He led the country during the stormy days of the Civil War (1861-1865) between the Northern States, which attempted to abolish slavery from the country, and the Southern States, which wanted to retain it. Lincoln heroically fought against the southerners, won a final victory and freed all the slaves. To the great misfortune of the country, he was assassinated soon after.

This speech was delivered on 15th November 1863. It affirms the ideals with which Lincoln sought to rebuild the nation. It was made at the dedication of a Soldiers' cemetery at Gettysburg where a battle had been fought.

score—twenty.

a new nation—the American nation.

conceived—brought into being.

dedicated—devoted.
proposition—truth; principle.
endure—last.
hallow—make sacred.
consecrated—set apart for a holy use.
detract—take away.
advanced—promoted.
the great task remaining before us—winning the war and the abolition of slavery.
increased devotion—great attachment.
highly resolve—make a firm determination.
under god—subject to the will of God.
shall not perish from the earth—shall not be destroyed.

Exercises

A. *Answer the following:*
(1) In what ideal was the American nation conceived and to what was it dedicated?
(2) How was the Civil War a threat to that nation?
(3) Why did the soldiers meet on a battlefield of that war?
(4) What does Lincoln consider as the most important thing to do now?

B. *Give the substance of Lincoln's speech.*

C. *Explain with reference to the context:*
(1) But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground.
(2) The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

(3) that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.

D. *Use the following in sentenses of your Own :*
dedicate ; endure ; detract ; resolve ; in vain.

E. *Match the words under A with those which mean the opposite or nearly the opposite under B.*

A.	B.
Nobly.	Bondage.
Detract.	Cowardly.
Consecrate.	Enhance.
Honoured.	Timid.
Freedom.	Pollute.
Brave.	Last.
Perish.	Meanly.
	Disgraced.
	Live.

F. *Rewrite as directed :*

1. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this (Change into a simple sentence)
2. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.
   (i) Analyse into clauses. (ii) Rewrite changing the voice. -
3. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate this ground (use neither .....nor)

G. *Read the poem 'O Captain, My Captain' by Walt Whitman.*

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LESSON 8

Crusoe Gets a Slave

(DANIEL DEFOE)

I fancied myself able to manage one, nay two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time to do me any hurt. All my fancies and schemes came to nothing, for no savages came for a great while.

About a year and half after I had entertained these notions, I was surprised, one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. The number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted. However, I put myself into a posture for an attack and was just ready for action if anything had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any

noise, at length, being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill, as usual; standing so however that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means. Here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had had meat dressed. How they had cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way, and two or three others were at work immediately cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very moment this poor wretch, seeing himself a little at liberty, and Nature inspiring him with hopes of life, started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands

directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way, and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body. However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged when I found that he outstripped them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them—so that if he could but hold it for half-an-hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle a creek, and this I saw plainly, he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there. But when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three persons came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that, standing on the other side, he looked at the other, but went no further, and soon after went softly back, which,

as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed, that the two who swam were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek as the fellow was that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately ran down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both but at the foot of the ladders, as I observed above, and getting up again, with the same haste, to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and having a very short cut, and all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallowing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was at first perhaps as much frightened at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and, in the meantime, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece. I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear, though at that distance, it would not have

been easily heard, and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued with him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me. I had to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot.

The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed, as he thought, yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still, than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little further, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and was just going to be killed, as his two enemies were.

I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer,

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kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for my saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head. This, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself; I pointed to him, to show that he was not dead, Upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear; for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above twenty-five years. But there was not time for such reflections now. The savage who was knocked down recovered himself so far as to sit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him. Upon this my savage, for so I call him now,

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made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side. He no sooner had it but he ran to his enemy, and, at one blow, cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better, which I thought very strange for one who, I had reason to beleive, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords. However, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, ay, and arms, and that, at one blow too. When he had done this, he came laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off. So pointing to him he made signs to me to let him go to him. I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him, turned him first on one side, then on the other, looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it seems, was just in his breast, where it had made a

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hole and no great quantity of blood had followed; but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. He took up his bow and arrows, and came back. So I turned to go away, and beckoned to him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest if they followed; and so I made signs again to him to do so. He fell to work, and in an instant, he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him, and did so also by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour. Then calling him away, I carried him, not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farthest part of the island.

Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water. For which I found he was indeed in great need; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes. So the poor creature laid down, and went to sleep.

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Notes

Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) had the art of describing things he had never seen, with the minute accuracy of an eye-witness. His important works are *Robinson Crusoe; Captain Jack; Journal of the Plague Year,* and *Memoirs of a Cavalier.* He wrote *Rabinson Crusoe* when he was fifty eight years old. It became very popular and has continued to be so ever since. It ranks with *Gulliver's Travels* and *Treasure Island*—the books which children love most. He based his story on the adventures of Alexander Selkirk who lived alone for five years on the island of Juan Fernandez in the Pacific.

This passage describes Crusoe's longing to have a human companion, even if he is a savage, and how it came to pass.

fancied—imagined.
notions—ideas.
resolved—analysed.
measures—estimation.
perplexed—puzzled.
perceived—saw.
perspective glass—telescope.
meat dressed—meat cooked or prepared for eating.
gestures—movements of body or limb.
wretch—unfortunate or miserable person.
habitation—dwelling place.
pursue—follow with intent to kill.
outstripped—surpassed.
to gain ground—advance.
irressistibly—convincingly.

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expedition—speed.
beckon—call attention by gesture.
stock—butt of gun.
loth—unwilling.
stockstill—as still as a post.
hallowed—shouted to call attention.
stunned—knocked down senseless.
reflections—thoughts.
executioner—one who puts to death condemned criminals.
triumph—exultation.
grove—group of trees.
raisins—dried grapes.

Exercises

A

1. How long had Crusoe entertained the notion of getting a savage for a slave? Why had it come to nothing? Why was he perplexed when he saw five canoes all on the shore on his side of the island?
2. What made Crusoe get up the hill and look through his perspective glass? What precautions did he take before doing so? What did he see through his glass?
3. "I was dreadfully frightened to see him run my way." Who was running his way? Why was he running like that? How had he escaped from his enemies? What made Crusoe go to his help? How did he save him from his enemies?

4. Why was the poor savage whose enemies were killed, afraid to go near Crusoe? How did Crusoe make him go to him? What did the savage do to express his gratitude for saving him?

B

Explain with reference to the context:

1. I was called plainly by providence to save the poor creature's life.
2. No executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better.

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context:

1. All my fancies and schemes came to nothing for.....
2. I was loth to fire because .....
3. Crusoe thought that the savage's words were pleasant to hear for .....
4. What astonished the savage most was how ....
5. The dead savages were buried so that .....

C

1. *Give the meanings of:*

savage (N); schemes; canoe; victim; fetch; barbarous; creek; cargo; providence; inclined; scraped; refresh.

2. *Use in sentences of your own:*

to come to pass; to gain ground; single-handed; to make much of; to take measures; to lay; in the main; in token of.

D

Rewrite as directed :—

1. Rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece. (as a complex sentence.)
2. He stood trembling as if he had been taken prisoner. (Fill in ellipsis.)
3. As soon as he got the sword, he ran towards his enemy and cut off his head at one blow (Change the degree)
4. He was so frightened at the noise of my piece that he could not move. (as a simple sentence.)
5. How they cooked it, I knew not. (Change the voice).

E

1. *Analyse* : —

However, I kept my station and my *spirits* began to *recover* when I found that *there* were not *above* three men *that* followed him; and *still* more was I *encouraged* when I found that he stripped them *exceedingly* in running and gained ground *so* that if he could *but* hold in for half an hour, he would *fairly* get away from them.

2. Pass the words *in italics* in the above sentence.

F

Correct the following :—

1. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in sign of triumph.
2. He no sooner had it but be runs to the enemy.
3. There were between those men and the castle; the creek.
4. I was much frightened when I see him pursued by three.

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LESSON 9.

MAN THE CONQUEROR

(JAMES HEMMING)

Man first appeared on earth half a million years ago. Then he was little more than an animal. Even so, early man had certain big advantages over the animals. He had a large brain, he had an upright body, with nimble hands; and he had in his brain special groups of nerve cells, not present in animals, that enabled him to invent a language and use it to communicate with his fellow men. This ability to speak was of supreme value because it allowed men to share ideas, and to plan together, so that tasks impossible for a single person could be successfully undertaken by intelligent teamwork. Speech also enabled ideas to be passed on from generation to generation so that the stock of human knowledge slowly increased.

It was these special advantages that put men far ahead of all other living creatures in the struggle for existence. They can pit their wits against their difficulties and master them.

Since those far-off times, when he first made his appearance, man has achieved a great deal. He has used animals, steam, electricity

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and oil to get himself faster and faster from place to place. He has overcome rivers and seas with rafts, canoes, boats and ships of endless variety. He mastered darkness too, first with dim lights, later with brighter and brighter lamps, until he can now make for himself so dazzling a radiance with a blazing arc that, like the sun, it is too strong for his naked eyes.

Man found his own muscles were too weak for the work he wanted to do; he explored forms of power—wind, water, steam, electricity—until now, at long last, he has hands on the ultimate source of physical energy, the nuclear power which ties together the minute units from which all matter is made.

From man's earliest days the flight of birds stirred his wonder and desire. Why should he not fly as they did? Then he began to experiment. At last, he learnt how to make the right machines to do the trick. Now he can fly faster than sound. Already he is hatching schemes for conquering space. It will not be long now before 'Next Step, Moon' becomes the travel order and man takes a giant stride away from this planet, learning what it is like to have no weight to his body, no up and no down to where he is.

Communication also presented man with a problem. Not far back in history even the most important message took weeks to travel from one country to another in written form or by word of mouth; now a comedian's back-chat leaps across the world at 186,000 miles a second. Sight has followed sound; man can now see things happening hundreds of miles away at the very moment when they occur.

Man, always a wanderer, had to overcome the difficulty of adjusting himself to different climates. Fortunately, in spite of having no thick skin or warm fur to protect him, he is peculiarly robust compared with other living creatures, Most of them are unable to live far outside the region that suits them best. Man, however, can go almost everywhere. You will find him living on the plains, and up in the hills; he lives in damp areas and in dry; in the depths of tropical forests and in snow huts on the bleak white wastes of the Far North. Sometimes nature has helped man by adapting him to the conditions around him—by darkening his skin to cut off dangerous amounts of ultra-violet rays from powerful sunlight. But often man has had to adapt himself—as when he puts on the furry skins of animals to keep out the

deadly cold of arctic winds or wears oxygen apparatus on high mountains. He has fitted himself not only to go everywhere on the surface of his world but, in pressurized cabins, has also flown miles above it and, in hollow spheres of thick steel, has explored far down into the depths of the sea.

A New Conquest—Yet hurrying on with success in many things, man has lagged seriously behind in a particularly vital field—that of health, In this field two special problems face him: disease and starvation. These problems still often defeat him even though he has been struggling against them for all the years of his existence.

The problems of this battle for health have proved tougher than those of man's struggles to defeat distance, darkness, cold, climate and lack of mechanical power. There are many reasons for this. One is that in his battle against disease and starvation man is not faced by merely physical things—he his up against living things. Living things are always harder to handle than non-living things.

What is more, in his struggles to conquer disease and starvation, man has often to deal with living things so tiny that the most powerful

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miscroscopes barely make them visible. We are all of us made up of millions of millions of separate living cells averaging about one two-thousandth of an inch across. Each cell is complete in itself but unites and works together with other cells to make up our body. A magnified cut would show innumerable living cells all hard at it repairing the damage, clearing away the remains of the cells actually destroyed by the cut, and mounting guard to see that no harmful germs—themselves also living cells—enter the body from outside while the breach in its protective covering is being sealed over.

As we shall see, minute cells of one kind or another lie at the root of health and disease. Good nutrition, for its part, often depends upon the inclusion of mere traces of certain substances in our food.

It is this world of minute life and elusive substances that so long defeated man in his struggle to master disease. Even today the battle is not yet half won.

Man and the Killers—Let us take a look at the centre-piece of the story—the human body itself. A human body appears to be rather soft and fragile—compared with that of tiger, say, or a

rhinoceros—but it is actually remarkably strong. Indeed, its very softness and looseness is an advantage; it makes man good at moving about and falling about in safety. Size for size, man is the most skilful in movement of all living things. No one creature can climb a rope, and an almost sheer rock-face, and a tree, in the way that man can.

Man's skill in balance is also supreme. Man's games demonstrate his range of control in using his own body. No other land creature can swim as skilfully as man; very few live anything like as long; none are so tough in their natural resistance to disease, Consequently man has a very good start in his battle against the risks of damage and death that threaten him. So long as he is well fed and fit, he takes a lot of killing. Nevertheless, every day thousands of people die needlessly, even though man is naturally strong, because those two killers, disease and starvation, get the upper hand.

What about the other killers? You may ask. What about war, accidents and old age? Aren't they part of the problem too? They certainly are, but war, accidents and old age (death over seventy) are less serious as killers than starvation and disease. For example, between 1939 and

1945, more lives were lost in the world by lack of enough food than from all the bombs and bullets of the war itself. This may sound strange. But it is true because *two-thirds of the whole human race do not get enough to eat.*

What about accidents? They do not compare with disease as a cause of death, In 1947, for example, 32,697 people were killed in the United States of America in motor accidents, and a total of 99,579 by accidents of all kinds; in India, in the same year, over one million were killed by a single disease—Malaria.

Old age? No one can live for ever, so one might suppose that quite a large number of old people would come to the end of their days each year. There is, however, another factor to bear in mind. During the time it has taken you to read this chapter a considerable number of babies have been born somewhere in the world—one is born every one and a quarter seconds! Of these, one group can be expected to have a good long life of about seventy years because they were lucky enough to be born in countries where living standards are high (as they are in North America, Europe, Australia, New Zeland, parts of South America, parts of the Union of South Africa and in a few other areas). But

many of the babies born elsewhere in India, or Central Africa, or Mexico for instance—have a poor chance of growing up at all.

The deadliest of all killers are starvation and disease. We cannot rest content until we have mastered them. To do so is one of the most important tasks of our times.

The Killers can be Conquered—What forces has man on his side in the battle to conquer disease and starvation? There are the scientists who are searching out the very mysteries of life itself as they come ever nearer to understanding how animals and plants live and grow. Then, there are the enlightened farmers who are ready to experiment with new and better ways of growing food. There are, in addition, the many highly skilled assistants who take on the practical tasks of the endless struggles—like the airmen who fly emergency supplies to some area where a deadly disease is at work, or kill dangerous plant pests by spraying or dusting the crops. There are also the efforts of the nations to establish health services. And there are the doctors and nurses who are devoting their lives to fighting disease. Above all there are the international organizations that have only come into being recently. Among these is the World Health Organization—

an international organization supported by over eighty states—whose task it is to use every means in its power to help in the world-wide fight to make every man, woman and child fully fit.

Scientists, doctors and others, helped by the international organisations, and backed by the sympathy and understanding of ordinary people, can build a really healthy world. It will not happen tomorrow, not next year. But one day it will happen, if enough people understand what is at stake and give what support and encouragement they can to those in the front line of the battle. It must happen as soon as possible, for delay means death to millions.

NOTES

This passage is from "Mankind against the Killers" by Mr. James Hemming, a contemporary author. It is a book dealing with health on a world scale, which cannot fail to interest its readers, young or old. It is bound to inspire them with the ideal of world citizenship.

nimble—agile; swift.

supreme—of the utmost importance or merit.

overcome—master.

radiance—brilliant light.

ultimate—last; final.

minute—very small.

back-chat—witty retorts.

robust—of strong health or physique.

bleak—dreary; bare.
deadly—causing fatal injury or death.
lag—go too slow; fall behind.
vital—essential.
magnified—enlarged.
breach—opening.
nutrition—food.
fragile—having a delicate structure.
sheer—prependicular.
what is at stake—what is being risked.

Exercises

A

1. "Certain special advantages put men far ahead of all living creatures in the struggle for existence."
   What were they? Which of them was of supreme value? Why?
2. "Since those far-off times when he made his first appearance, man has achieved a great deal."
   What are his achievements in the different fields?
3. Which is the vital field in which man is lagging behind? Which are the two special problems that face him?
4. Which are the other killers of man? What examples prove that they are less serious as killers than starvation and disease?
5. What forces has man on his side to conquer starvation and disease?

B

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context :—

1. The problems of this battle for.....have proved tougher than those of man's struggles to defeat distance, cold, climate, and lack of mechanical power.
2. In his struggle to conquer disease and starvation man has often to deal with.....so tiny that the most powerful.....barely make them visible.
3. Minute..... .....of one kind or other lie at the root of health and disease.
4. The deadliest of all killers are.....and.....

C

1. *Give the meanings of :*—apparatus; explore; massage; comedian; resistance; mystery; experiment; emergency; enlightened.
2. *Distinguish between :*—invent and discover; a pest and a pet; increase and decrease; inclusion and exclusion; loose and lose.
3. *Use the following phrases in sentences of your own:*— to pit one's wit; a good chance; at stake.

D

Rewrite as directed :—

1. The problem of this battle for health has proved tougher than those of man's struggles to defeat distance, darkness, cold, climate, and lack of mechanical power.

   (Change the degree of comparison)

2. Sight has followed sound (Change the voice).
3. Two-thirds of the human race do not get enough to eat.

   (Remove the negative).
4. Man has to deal with living things so tiny that the most powerful microscope barely makes them visible (use too—to).

Analyse :—

But one day it will happen, if enough people understand what is at stake and give what support and encouragement they can to those who are in the front line of the battle.

LESSON 10

TRIBUTE

(A. E. COPPARD)

Two honest young men lived in Braddle worked together at the spinning mills, at Braddle, and courted the same girl in the same town of Braddle, a girl named Patience who was poor and pretty. One of them Nathan Regent, who wore cloth uppers to his best boots, was steady, silent and dignified, but Tony Vassall, the other, was such a happy-go-lucky fellow that he soon carried the good-will of Patience in his heart, in his handsome face, in his pocket at the end of his nickel watch chain, or wherever the sign of requited love is carried by the happy lover. The virtue of steadiness, you see, can be measured only by the years, and this Tony had put such a hurry into the tender bosom of Patience: silence may very well be golden, but it is a currency not easy to negotiate in the kingdom of courtship; dignity is so much less than simple faith that it is unable to move even one mountain, it charms the hearts only of bank managers and bishops.

So Patience married Tony vassall and Nathan turned his attention to other things,

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among them to a girl who had a neat little fortune—and Nathan married that.

Braddle is a large gaunt hill covered with dull little houses, and it has flowing from its side a stream which feeds a gigantic and beneficent mill. Without that mill—as everybody in Braddle knew, for it was there that everybody in Braddle worked—the heart of Braddle would cease to beat. Tony went on working at the mill. So did Nathan in a way, but he had a cute ambitious wife and what with her money and influence he was soon made a manager of one of the departments. Tony went on working at the mill. In a few more years Nathan's steadiness so increased his opportunities that he became Joint manager of the whole works. Then his colleague died; he was appointed sole manager, and his wealth became so great that eventually Nathan's wife bought the entire concern. Tony went on working at the mill. He now had two sons and a daughter, Nancy, as well as his wife Patience, so that even his possessions may be said to have increased although his position was no different from what it had been for twenty years.

The Regents, now living just outside Braddle, had one child, a daughter named Olive, of the

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same age as Nancy. She was very beautiful and had been educated at school to which she rode on a bicycle until she was eighteen.

About that time, you must know, the country embarked upon a disastrous campagin, a war so calamitous that every sacrifice was demanded of Braddle. The Braddle Mills were worn from their very bearings by the colossal efforts, increasing by day or by night, to provide what were called the sinews of war. Almost everybody in Braddle grew white and thin and sullen with the strain of constant labour. Not quite everybody, for the Regents received such a vast increase of wealth that their eyes sparkled: they scarcely knew what to do with it; their faces were neither white nor sullen.

'In times like these,' declared Nathan's wife, 'we must help our country still more, still more we must help; let us lend our money to the country.'

'Yes,' said Nathan.

So they lent their money to their country. The country paid them tribute, and therefore, as the Regent wealth continued to flow in, they helped their country more and more; they even lent the tribute back to the country and received yet more tribute for that.

'In times like these,' said the country, 'we must have more men, more men we must have.' And so Nathan went and sat upon a Tribunal; for, as everybody in Braddle knew, if the mills of Braddle ceased to grind, the heart of Braddle would cease to beat.

'What can we do to help our country?' asked Tony Vassall of his master. 'We have no money to lend.'

'No?' was the reply. 'But you can give your strong son, Dan.'

Tony gave his son Dan to the country.

'Good-bye, dear son,' said his father, and his brother and his sister Nancy said 'Good-bye.' His mother kissed him.

Dan was killed in battle; his sister Nancy took his place at the Mill.

In a little while the neighbours said to Tony Vassall:

'What a fine strong son is your young Albert Edward!'

And Tony gave his son Albert Edward to the country.

'Good-bye, dear son,' said his father; his sister kissed him, his mother wept on his breast.

Albert Edward was killed in battle; his mother took his place at the Mill.

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But the war did not cease; though friend and foe alike were almost drowned in blood it seemed as powerful as eternity, and in time Tony Vassall too went to battle and was killed. The country gave Patience a widow's pension, as well as a touching inducement to marry again; she died of grief. Many people died in those days, it was not strange at all. Nathan and his wife got so rich that after the war they died of over-eating, and their daughter Olive, came into a vast fortune and a Trustee.

The Trustee went on lending the Braddle money to the country, the country went on sending large sums of interest to Olive (which was the country's tribute to her because of her parents' unforgotten, and indeed unforgettable, kindness), while Braddle went on with its work of enabling the country to do this. For when the war came to an end the country told Braddle that those who had not given their lives must now turn to and really work, work harder than before the war, much, much harder, or the tribute could not be paid and the heart of Braddle would therefore cease to beat. Braddle folk saw that this was true, only too true, and they did as they were told.

The Vassall girl, Nancy, married a man

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who had done deeds of valour in the war. He was a mill hand like her father, and they had two sons, Daniel and Albert Edward. Olive married a grand man, thought it is true he was not very grand to look at. He had a small sharp nose, but that did not matter very much because when you looked at him in profile his bouncing red cheeks quite hid the small sharp nose, as completely as two hills hide a little barn in a valley. Olive lived in a grand mansion with numerous servants who helped her to rear a little family of one, a girl named Mercy, who also had a small sharp nose and round red cheeks.

Every year after the survivors' return from the war Olive gave a supper to her work-people and their families, hundreds of them; for six hours there would be feasting and toys, music and dancing. Every year Olive would make a little speech to them all, reminding them all of their duty to Braddle and Braddle's duty to the country, although, indeed, she did not remind them of the country's tribute to Olive. That was perhaps a theme unfitting to touch upon, it would have been boastful and quite unbecoming.

'These are grave times for our country,'

Olive would declare year after year; 'her responsibilities are enormous, we must all put our shoulders to the wheel.'

Every year one of the workmen would make a little speech in reply, thanking Olive for enabling the heart of Braddle to continue its beats, calling down the spiritual blessings of heaven and the golden blessings of the world upon Olive's golden head. One year the honour of replying fell to the husband of Nancy, and he was more than usually eloquent, for on that very day their two sons had commenced to doff bobbins at the Mill. No one applauded louder than Nancy's little Dan or Nancy's Albert Edward, unless it was Nancy herself. Olive was always much moved on these occasions. She felt that she did not really know these people, that she would never know them; she wanted to go on seeing them, being with them, and living with rapture in their workaday world. But she did not do this.

'How beautiful it all is!' she would sigh to her daughter, Mercy, who accompanied her. 'I am so happy. All these dear people are being cared for by us, just simply us. God's scheme of creation—you see—the Almighty—we are his agents—we must always remember that. It goes

on for years, years upon years it goes on. It will go on, of course, yes, for ever ; the heart of Braddle will not cease to beat. The old ones die, the young grow old, the children mature and marry and keep the mill going. When I am dead.....'

'Mamma, Mamma!'

'O yes, indeed, one day! Then YOU will have to look after all these things, Mercy, and you will talk to them—just like me. Yes, to own the mill is a grave and difficult thing, only those who own them know how grave and difficult; it calls forth all ones' deepest and rarest qualities; but it is a divine position, a noble responsibility. And the people really love me—I think.'

Notes

A. E. Coppard (1878-) started life as an errand by for a Jewish trouser maker, when he was just 9 years old. He soon rose to become a clerk, working first at Brighton, later at Oxford. His important works are, *Adam and Eve and Pinch Me*, *Fishmonger's Fiddle*, *Silver Circus*, *The Field of Mustard*, and *Ninepenny Flute*. This story is taken from *The Black Dog*. It is not merely a description of the fortunes of two individuals, it is a study of two important types who compose a nation, against the background of war.

courted—made love.
cloth uppers—covering of cloth for the ankles.
happy-go-lucky—carefree.
requited love—successful love.
to negotiate—to employ.
gaunt—desolate looking.
beneficent mill—a mill which did good to the people.
cute—clever.
disastrous—ruinous.
calamitous—disastrous.
sinews of war—money, armaments, etc.
sullen—gloomy and silent.
tribute—interest.
tribunal—a committee set up to choose who should stay and work at home and who should go to the front.
inducement—encouragement.
to rear—bring up.
to doff—to take out.
bobbins—cylinders for holding thread.
rapture—great joy.

Exercises

A. 1. 'Tony Vassall and Nathan Regent are two different types.' Bring out the differences in their characters.

2. What are the qualities which enable Tony to succeed in love, and Nathan in life?

3. After reading the story do you feel that the names Vassall and Regent are significant? What makes you think so?

4. Why is the mill described as the 'heart of Braddle?'
5. What does the war mean to Tony and to Nathan? How do they help their country and with what results?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. Silence may very well be golden, but it is a currency not easy to negotiate in the kingdom of courtship.
2. The country gave Patience a widow's pension as well as a touching inducement to marry again.
3. God's scheme of creation — you see — the Almighty—we are his agents—we must always remember that.

C. *Give the opposites of :—*

Beneficent; increase; cease; fortune; boastful; eloquent; creation; divine.

D. *Use the following phrases in your own sentences :—*

Happy-go-lucky; grow white and thin; friend and foe; as powerful as eternity; to come into fortune; deeds of valour; embark upon.

E. *Complete the following, picking out appropriate words or phrases given in brackets :—*

1. Tony Vassall succeeded in love because he was— (steady, silent, a happy-go-lucky fellow)
2. Nathan Regent married—(a poor girl, a beautiful girl, a girl who had a neat little fortune)
3. — — can move mountains. (sincerity, hard work, faith)
4. Olive regarded herself as — — (one of God's agents, a rich person, a responsible person.)

LESSON 11

GOOD BRICKS*

(RAJAJI)

I WISH I had the eloquence which your Vice-chancellor commanded. I wish I had the courage which your representative sister commanded. I do not believe that when I was so young as that girl I could have faced such a vast gathering of exhilarated, potentially mischievous material as the one ranged before me. I am amazed at the courage of your sister, my dear boys. Would you dare to think that one of you could come up and talk as she did in spite of all the possible shouts that you could raise? The first thing, therefore, I should do is to warn boys to be prepared against this competition of the girls. Not only have girls as much brain matter as you have, but they have been displaying in their studies a concentration which boys have not been displaying. I am not stating merely a theoretical proposition. I have been watching results in various institutions and the curve of success is going in favour of the girls, let me tell you. Mother India wants hardworking good

*Nagpur–At the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology, August, 26, 1948.

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boys and good girls, character being the gold out of which everything else is made. If we have no character, I tell you, this freedom that we are all acclaiming would be burnt up like waste paper.

It is only if we have character that freedom will produce happiness for the millions of our country. Character is not merely a copy-book ideal. It is the wisest national policy that can be conceived by any statesman. It is only if we have character that all things will work. Otherwise, not only freedom, education and the universities but the whole constitution will be mere waste paper. Hence the emphasis on character that has to be formed by the best type. I welcome the growing number of girls in schools and colleges because it means that the schools and colleges are carried bodily into families. We will not need to multiply university if only our mothers are all university products. Then every home will be in itself a University. All boys and girls that have to be looked after, will be looked after from the earliest stages in the home by a worthy principal, namely the mother of the family. Do you then doubt the evaluation I make that every girl graduate is worth five boy graduates taking the average of a family to be five?

It is only in our country that ten lakhs of people can congregate in a small area round a temple and finish a festival without accident. In other places, gatherings such as this will be possible only with organizations for preservation of order. Our culture is so ancient and so well established that we can ordinarily have the most difficult congregations without any special arrangements for preservation of order. I had feared that there was a deterioration in this matter in our country in recent times and when I saw so vast a crowd in this place, I was a little doubtful whether you would maintain sufficient silence and discipline to let me complete my task of thanking you for all this affection you have bestowed upon me.

We are in very serious times, because we are free. If we had not got freedom, the task would have been less serious. In the old days, our task was only to fight, to wrest freedom, enthuse one another and carry on the work. That was easy as we know, but now that we have freedom and the entire burden of the future structure of our country is on our own shoulders, we must be as true in our conduct and thoughts as a brick that supports a building is true.

We can deceive one another but can we

deceive dynamics? Can we deceive the laws of nature? If bricks are not true and good and if they are not laid properly, the building will tumble down, whatever may be the engineer's words of promise. In the national structure we are dealing with, deception has no place. Unless we are very strenuous in our conduct and honest in our minds, we cannot make a glorious India. Whatever may be the policies and tactics of statesmanship, whatever may be the science of politics and application of politics, whatever may be the organization of Government, ultimately, if we wish to make India not only free but glorious, as was the hope of those who fought for freedom, we will have to work very hard and you will all have to be throughly honest.

Is it difficult to be straightforward? If anybody has any doubts about it, all that we work for would be vanity. Unless we make up our minds that it is easy to be straightforward, easy to bear troubles that arise out of straightforwardness and overcome them, the glory that our country deserves, cannot be built. We are not a small state like some of the states in Europe or anywhere else in the world. We are not a new state with no tradition or culture to look up to. We are a great, big country. Even after

partition we are a great big country and we are a very ancient people with literature and culture which, if we could sell to any other nation, they would sell their whole empire to buy. We have to work hard and live up to that tradition and culture. Therefore, friends, take what I say very seriously. It is easy to be straightforward. Difficulties that arise in life can always be overcome. Even if you fail, it will still add to your glory. Therefore, let us make up our minds that we shall in no matter swerve from the path of rectitude. In the first few years of Free India, whatever be the work that comes to you, that is your God-sent job and you must do that work. We must all resolve that during this period, when we are laying the glorious foundation of Free India, there is no time for wrangling or competitive ambitions. It is time for everyone to seize whatever work he can find and do it as well as he can do it all the twenty-four hours. This is the time when we must do double shift, night and day, and build India quickly.

I am old and I wish to see glorious India before I die. It is only young men and women like you who can guide the nation and guide it in the right direction. You are the leaders of India. A country with 400 million requires

many many leaders. Leaders are not only those whose faces appear in the newspapers. He who guides people round him in his village or town or home is also a leader and he should be a leader worthy of future India.

Universities are the hope of our national leaders. Our Government hope that the universities will produce rapidly, year after year, thousands and thousands of leaders to guide people aright in honesty and work throughout the country. Then all will be well.

NOTES

Chakravarthy Rajagopalachari (1879—), popularly know as C. R. or Rajaji, was educated at the Presidency College, and the Law College, Madras. A lawyer by profession, he entered politics and dedicated himself to social work, In his time he has filled several offices ably—General Secretary of the Congress, Congress Working Committee Member, Chief Minister of Madras State, Governor of Bengal, Governor General and Home Minister of India. In addition to his short stories, he has written books on Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, the *Bhagvad-Gita,* and the *Upanishads.* His *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata,* are very popular. All these works reveal his creative and critical faculties. He is a fluent and powerful speaker. In this address which he delivered at Nagpur on the 26th of August, 1948, at the Laxminarayana Institute of Technology, he reminds

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young students that they are the good bricks out of which Free India is to be built.

eloquence—the art of speaking fluently.
exhilarated—lively, merry.
potentially mischievous—capable of mischi
ranged—gathered.
displaying—showing.
concentration—attention.
acclaiming—praising.
copy-book ideal—ideal found in a copy-book, not translated into action.
constitution—fundamental principles according to which a state is governed.
evaluation—estimate.
congregate—come together.
organisations—institutions.
preservation—maintenance.
deterioration—lowering.
recent—modern
bestowed upon me—shown to me.
wrest—take by force.
enthuse—encourage,
structure—building up.
is true—is strong.
dynamics—the science of matter and motion.
strenuous—active and energetic.
tactics of statesmanship—methods of managing the state.
application—practical use.
ultimately—finally.
vanity—futility.

tradition—opinion, custom or belief handed down from ancestors to posterity.
swerve—turn away.
rectitude—right conduct.
wrangling—qurarelling noisily.

Exercises

A. 1. Why does Rajaji advise the students to build up character?
2. Why does he consider the growing number of girls in schools as a welcome sign?
3. What are the tasks that freedom has imposed on the Indian students?
4. What qualities should the students cultivate to fulfil these tasks?
5. Explain the significance of the title of the address.

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*
1. Character is not.....copy-book ideal.
2. Then every home.....University.
3. We are in serious times.....we are free.
4. Universities are.....national leaders.

C. *Use the following in your own sentences :—*
In spite of; in favour of; copy-book ideal; look after; well established; bestow upon; tumble down; vanity; to look upto; to make up one's mind; to live up to.

D. *Choose the alternative which is most apt :—*
1. Educated girls will be more useful for building up India because—
(a) they can train up their children well.

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(b) they are cleverer than boys.
(c) they have better concentration.

2. India can be built on firm foundations by—
(a) clever statesmanship.
(b) deceiving other nations.
(c) following a policy of honesty.

3. Leaders are those—
(a) whose faces we see in the newspapers.
(b) who guide people in villages, towns or homes.
(c) who have power over others,

E. *Write the following in indirect speech :—*

We are not a new State ...that tradition and culture.

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LESSON 12

A Voyage to Lilliput

(JONATHAN SWIFT)

I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, above nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: for, as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my armpits to my thighs. I could only look upwards; the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when bending my eyes downwards as much as

I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah Degul:* the others repeated the same words several times, but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness: at length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground; for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time, with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time, before

I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo Phonac;* when in an instant I felt above an hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and besides they shot another flight in to the air as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body (though I felt them not) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides; but, by good luck, I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest armies they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows;

but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased; and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work; when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected, about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it: from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro Dehul San* (these words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me.) Whereupon immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came, and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He

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acted every part of an orator, and I could observe many periods of threatenings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness; and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear showing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency) by putting my finger frequently on my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *Hurgo* (for so they call a great lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commended that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above an hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided, and sent thither by the King's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I ate them by two or three

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at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time, about the bigness of musket bullets. They supplied me as they could, showing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another sign that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me, and being a most ingenious people, they slung up with great dexterity one of their largest hogheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hoghead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times as they did at first, *Hekinah Degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach Mivola*, and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was an universal shout of *Hekinah Degul*.

NOTES

This is an extract from "Gulliver's Travels" by Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). Though it was written with the purpose of holding statesmen up to ridicule, it ranks among the three most popular stories of adventure liked by children all over the world. This extract describes the strange things that happened to Gulliver in Lilliput. It was an imaginary island and Gulliver was cast on it after the shipwreck. He was the only one who had survived the shipwreck.

inclined—disposed.
reckoned—guessed.
ligature—bandage.
offend—hurt.
quiver—case for arrows.
conjecture—(v) guess.
ventured—made bold.
Hekina Degul—man-mountain (as was explained to Gulliver afterwards).
wrench—pull by violence.
Tolgo phonac—shoot (in the language of the Lilliputians).
buff-jerkin—close-fitting jacket made of stout, velvety, dull-yellow leather.
train—trailing part of a gown or robe.
famished—reduced to extreme hunger.
intelligence—news.
bulk—size.
morsel—mouthful; a small quantity.
ingenious—skilful.
hoghead—a large cask.

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Burgundy—a kind of wine.

Borach : mivola—stand aside (in the Lilliputian language).

Exercises

A

1. Why was not Gulliver able to rise when he woke up? What did he hear and see? Why did he roar? What were the methods taken by the Lilliputians to bind him? How did he discover them? Why had he to groan with pain and grief?
2. Why did he think it to be the most prudent method to lie still? What considerations made him design to continue so till night?
3. "I heard a knocking for about an hour like that of people at work."

   What were the people working at? How did Gulliver understand that the speaker was a person of quality? Why did Gulliver answer him in a submissive manner? How did Gulliver make him understand that he was hungry? How did the Lilliputians contrive to satisfy his hunger and thirst?
4. "They showed a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite."

   In what way did the bulk and appetite of Gulliver differ from those of the Lilliputians?
5. What qualities of the Lilliputians do you gather from the narrative?

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B

Explain with reference to the context :—

1. I could see nothing except the sky.
2. I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me.
3. But fortune disposed otherwise of me.
4. I could not help showing my impatience, perhaps, against the strict rules of decency.

C

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context :—

1. In the posture I lay, I could see nothing except.....
2. I was in utmost astonishment and roared so loud.....
3. Some of them attempted with spears to stick me .....which they could not pierce.
4. They supplied me as fast as they could showing a thousand marks of.....at my bulk and appetite.
5. Being a most.....people, they swung up with great dexterity one of their largest hogheads.

D

1. Give the noun forms of :—perceive ; distinct ; prudent ; dispose ; submissive ; suffice ; ingenious.
2. Give the verb–form of :– fast ; bright ; threat ; loose ; excess ; admiration.
3. Distinguish between :—ascend—descend ; train (V)—train (N) ; loins—lions ; cease—seize.

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E

Rewrite as directed :—

1. I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me.

(Change the voice)

2. I lay down upon the grass which was very short and sweet.

(as a simple sentence)

3. But the creatures ran off a second time before I could seize them.

(Change the principal clause into subordinate clause)

4. I could easily free myself.

(Use the noun form of easily)

5. He was taller than any of the three who attended him.

(Change the degree)

6. I could not help showing my impatience perhaps against the strict rules of decency.

(Remove the negative)

Analyse :—

I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious.

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LESSON 13

WHERE DO RICHES GO TO?

(JAWAHARALAL NEHRU)

In my letters to you which I sent to Mussoorie, I tried to show you how different classes of people developed as man advanced. The early men had a hard life even to find food. They hunted and gathered nuts and fruits from day to day, and wandered from place to place in search of food. Gradually tribes grew up. These were really large families living together and hunting together, because it was safter to be together than alone. Then came a great change—the discovery of agriculture, which made a tremendous difference. People found it much easier to grow food on the land by the methods of agriculture than to hunt all the time. And ploughing and sowing and harvesting meant living on the land. They could not just wander about as they used to, but had to remain near their fields. So grew up villages and towns.

Agriculture also brought about other changes. The food that was produced by the land was much more than could be used up at once. This excess or surplus was stored up. Life became a little more complicated than it used

to be in the old days of hunting, and different classes of people did the actual work in the fields and elsewhere, and some did the managing and organizing. The Managers and organizers gradually became more powerful, and became patriarchs and rulers and kings and nobles. And, having the power to do so, they kept for themselves a great deal of the excess or surplus food that was produced. Thus they became richer, while those who worked in the fields got just enough food to live on. A time came later when these managers and organisers became too lazy or incompetent to do even the work of organizing. They did nothing, but they took good care to take a fat share of the food produced by the workers. And they began to think that they had every right to live in this way on the labour of others without doing anything themselves.

So you will see that the coming of agriculture made a vast difference to life. By improving the method of getting food, by making it easier to get it, agriculture changed the whole basis of society. It gave people leisure. Different classes grew up. Everybody was not busy in getting food, and so some people could take to other work. Various kinds of crafts grew up

and new professions were formed. Power, however, chiefly rested with the organizing class.

You will find in later history also how great changes have been brought about by new ways of producing food and other necessaries. Man began to require many other things almost as much as food. So that any great changes in the methods of production resulted in great changes in society. To give you one big instance of it: When steam was applied to working factories and moving railways and ships, a great change was made in the methods of production and distribution. The steam factories could make things far more quickly than the artisans and craftsmen could with their hands or simple tools. The big machine was really an enormous tool. And the railway and the steamship helped in taking food and the products of factories quickly to distant countries. You can well imagine what a difference this must have made all over the world.

New and quicker ways of producing food and other things have been discovered in history from time to time. And you would, of course, think that if better methods were used for production, much more would be produced, and the world would be richer and every one would have

more. You would be partly right and partly wrong. Better methods of production have certainly made the world richer. But which part of the world? It is obvious enough that there is great poverty and misery still in our country; but even in a rich country like England this is so. Why? Where do the riches go to? It is a strange thing that in spite of more and more wealth being produced, the poor have remained poor. They have made some little progress in certain countries, but it is very little compared to the new wealth produced. We can easily see, however, to whom this wealth largely goes. It goes to those who, usually being the managers or organizers, see to it that they get the lion's share of everything good. And, stranger still, classes have grown up in society of people who do not even pretend to do any work, and yet who take this lion's share of the work of others! And—would you believe it?—these classes are honoured; and some foolish people imagine that it is degrading to have to work for one's living! Such is the topsy-turvy condition of our world. Is it surprising that the peasant in his field and the worker in his factory are poor, although they produce the food and wealth of the world? We talk of freedom for

our country, but what will any freedom be worth unless it puts an end to this topsy-turvydom, and gives to the man who does the work the fruits of his toils? Big, fat books have been written on politics and the art of government, on economics and how the nation's wealth should be distributed. Learned professors lecture on these subjects. But, while people talk and discuss, those who work suffer. Two hundred years ago a famous Frenchman, Voltaire, said of politicians and the like that "they have discovered in their fine politics the art of causing those to die of hunger who, cultivating the earth, give the means of life to others."

Still, ancient man advanced and gradually encroached upon wild Nature. He cut the forests and built the houses and tilled the land. Man is supposed to have conquered Nature to some extent. People talk of the conquest of Nature. This is loose talk and is not quite correct. It is far better to say that man has begun to understand Nature, and the more he has understood, the more he has been able to co-operate with Nature and to utilize it for his own purposes. In the old days men were afraid of Nature and of natural phenomena. Instead of trying to understand them, they tried to

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worship and offer peace offerings, as if Nature were a wild beast which had to be appeased and cajoled. Thus thunder and lightning and epidemic diseases frightened them, and they thought that these could be prevented only by offerings. Many simple people think that an eclipse of the sun or moon is a terrible calamity. Instead of trying to understand that it is a very simple natural occurence, people needlessly excite themselves about it, and fast and bathe to protect the sun or the moon! The sun and the moon are quite capable of looking after themselves. We need not worry about them.

We have talked of the growth of civilisation and culture, and we have seen the beginnings of this when people settled down to live in villages and towns. The greater quantity of food that they got gave them more leisure and they could thus think of other matters than hunting and eating. With the growth of thought developed the arts and crafts and culture generally. As the population increased, people had to live closer to each other. They were continually meeting each other and having business with each other. If people have to live together they must be considerate to each other. They must avoid doing anything which might hurt their

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companions or neighbours, otherwise no social life is possible. Take a family, for instance. A family is a tiny bit of society which will live happily if its members have consideration for each other. This is not very difficult as a rule in a family, as there is a bond of affection between its members. Even so it sometimes happens that we forget to be considerate and show that we are not very cultured and civilized after all. In the case of a larger group than the family, it is exactly the same—whether we take our neighbours, or the people of our city, or our countrymen, or the people of other countries even. So the growth of population resulted in more social life and more restraint and consideration for others. Culture and civilization are difficult to define, and I shall not try to define them. But among the many things that culture includes are certainly restraint over oneself and consideration for others. If a person has not got this self-restraint and has no consideration for others, one can certainly say that he is uncultured.

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NOTES

Pandit Javaharlal Nehru (1889—) Prime Minister of India, is an outstanding international figure. He is held in high esteem in India by people belonging to all creeds and parties. He is a voracious reader, and a prolific and popular writer. His important works are *Autobiography; Glimpses of world History; Discovery of India; Letters from a Father to a Daughter; Whither India.* '*Where the Riches go to?*' is taken from '*Glimpses of World History*' which was written at different prisons in India during the three years between October 1930 and August 1933. He wrote it in the form of letters to his young daughter, whose education he had little opportunity of supervising owing to his periodic absence in prison. They were published in book form in 1934.

This letter describes why in spite of more and more wealth being produced, the poor have remained poor, and what culture should include.

advanced—progressed.
tribes—groups of people under recognised chiefs.
tremendous—of great importance.
organizing—bringing into working order.
patriarch—father or ruler of a family or tribe.
basis—foundation.
rested with—was left in the hands of.
obvious—clear.
lion's share—largest or best part.
degrading—lowering; disgraceful.
topsy-turvy—upside down.
peasant—farmer.
toil—labour.

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till—cultivate.
utilize—use.
phenomena—observed facts or occurrences.
appease—pacify.
cajole—persuade or soothe by flattery.
calamity—grievous disaster.
restraint—self-control.
define—state clearly.

Exercises

A

1. Why was the life of early man a hard one? What was the great discovery that made a tremendous difference? What complications did it lead to?
2. What did change the basis of society? How?
3. 'Better methods of productions have certainly made the world richer. Yet there is great poverty and misery even in a rich country like England'.
   Where do the riches go to?
4. 'Ancient man advanced and gradually encroached upon wild nature.'
   What do the people call this advance of man? What is the correct thing to say? How did ancient men show their ignorance of the natural Phenomena?
5. What did start the growth of civilization and culture? What did give people the leisure to think of other matters than hunting and

eating? What did this develop? What was the effect of the increase of population? How should people behave to make social life possible?

B

Explain with reference to the context :—

1. It is a strange thing that in spite of more and more wealth being produced, the poor have remained poor.
2. They have discovered in their politics the art of causing those to die of hunger who cultivating the earth, give the means of life to others.
3. The sun and moon are quite capable of looking after themselves. We need not worry about them.

C

Complete the following sentences choosing the appropriate clause from those given below them :—

1. Villages and towns grew because.....
   (a) Men were tired of wandering from place to place.
   (b) They could get whatever they want in towns.
   (c) They had to remain near their fields.
   (d) They wanted to be with their families.
2. Social life is possible only if.....
   (a) people live together in towns.
   (b) arts and crafts are improved.
   (c) people are wealthy.

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(d) people are considerate to each other.

3. What will any freedom be worth unless.....?
   (a) one can live well without doing any work.
   (b) one can do whatever he likes.
   (c) it gives man the fruits of his toil.
   (d) other people envy us.
4. One can certainly say that a man is uncultured if.....
   (a) he has no self restraint and no considerations for others.
   (b) he cannot lecture on how the nation's wealth should be distributed.
   (c) he has to work for his living.
   (d) he does not get a lion's share of the fruits of other's toil.

D

1. *Give the meanings of :—*
   complicated; incompetent; crafts; profession; enormous; pretend; politics; economics; culture; considerate.
2. *Give the antonyms of :—*
   rich; distant; misery; ancient.
3. *Distinguish betweeen :—*
   later and latter; artisan and artist; continually and continuously; disease and decease; fast (N) fast (adv).
4. *Use in sentences of your own :—*
   in search of; to take to; in spite of; a lion's share; to put an end to; to look after.

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E

Rewrite as directed :—

1. It was safer to be together than alone.
(Change the degree)
2. The discovery of agriculture made a tremendous difference.
(As an exclamatory sentence)
3. Some foolish people imagine that it is degrading to have to work for their living.
(As a negative sentence)
4. New and quicker ways of producing food have been discovered in history from time to time.
(Change the voice)

F

Analyse :

1. In *my* letters which I sent to *Mussoori*, I tried to *show* you *how different* classes of people developed *as* man *advanced*.
2. Parse the words in italics in the above sentence.

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LESSON 14

THE HABIT OF READING

(AUGUSTINE BIRRELL)

First, then, my advice is—form the habit of reading, and, having formed it, stick to it. All habits are not bad, and some are of the very salt of life. What a glimpse into the dark abyss of melancholia is afforded by that chance remark of Balzac's in *Le Cousin Pons*, 'Many a man on the brink of suicide has been plucked back on the threshold of death by the thought of the cafe where he plays his nightly game of dominoes.' What a cheerful, friendly, life-sustaining habit! How right I was to be fond of dominoes! Yet regarding life as a whole, as something to be endured and if possible enjoyed, from its beginning to its may be solitary end, from *Robinson Crusoe* to *The Three Musketeers*, from *The Three Musketeers* to *War and Peace*, I am certain that there is no greater gift of fortune than to have acquired and retained the power to 'go back to one's book' with eagerness and joy.

How is this habit to be acquired?

The first step is to breed an easy familiarity with the outsides of books, and to feel comfortable in their company as an ostler amongst horses.

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How is this familiarity to be obtained?

The run of a large library is almost essential, and in these days, when really fine libraries are to be found in all quarters of the town, this is not very difficult. To get to know the books as they stand on their shelves is a pleasant increase of one's acquaintances. That is Walpole in Peter Cunningham's nine volumes, there is Gibbon in twelve (for he cannot be read in less). That long, dusty series must be *The Annual Register*. There surely is Boswell in Dr. Hill's six volumes, and Johnson's own works in either nine or twelve. How many volumes does Fielding occupy, how many Richardson, and how many Sterne? These, believe me, are not foolish questions. As the Alpine expert can pick out his peaks from the terrace at Berne, so the book-lover, on entering a library, even a municipal library, finds himself at home.

The book-reader, as he grows in maturity, is not likely to be altogether content with Municipal libraries, but it is not given to many of us to possess thirty thousand volumes, and most of us find it difficult to stow away even five thousand in the home where we are condemned to live. But the familiarity of which I have been writing, though only to be gained from

access to large libraries, and the study of second-hand booksellers' catalogues and the run of their shops, in no way leads to discontent with the few volumes we happen to possess of our very own. No sensible man envies the Bodleian, or wishes that the catalogue of his library should be in a hundred volumes.

To repeat my point, the habit of reading, if it is to become so confirmed as to bid defiance to the crust of middle age, is best fostered and stimulated by cultivating in as many ways as possible an extreme familiarity with both the outsides and the title pages of good books. I have known men of university breeding who are positively as uneasy in the presence of a book as Mr. Gladstone used to be in the company of a Nonconformist minister of religion. I am not blaming them, for they may possess other and equally enduring tastes; but I am only concerned to make out that amongst men's habits, the habit of reading, if persisted in to the end, is one of the most pleasure-giving, and is probably the most lasting.

The next step to take, after establishing a certain measure of easy familiarity with books as things, like the ace of clubs or the king of diamonds, is to gratify your natural tastes by

setting yourself more or less diligently and day by day to read what you like best. Never force your taste, but feed it. Even reading what you like best after such a fashion as to form an enduring habit demands an effort of the will and an occasional forced discipline. It is easy to lay down a book half-read and to forget to take it up again and this is all the easier when there is no particular occasion ever to take it up again, for I am not thinking of any such pursuit as 'reading for any examination,' but of reading for the pleasure of reading and nothing else.

It is amazing how this habit of reading for pleasure slips clean out of people's lives. It often seems completely forgotten. The books may be on the shelves, but they are seldom taken down, and they remain unexercised. Sometimes they are not on the shelves at all, and then what a cruel fate it is for any child to be born within those bookless walls.

How shocking it would have been to come into a house which did not contain *The Essays of Elia*, or the novels of Scott and Dickens! Yet even as it is, when cheap and excellent reprints abound and household libraries are enormously improved, the habit of reading for pleasure is by no means general.

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This habit once formed, and so formed as to become 'a second nature,' secures that the path through life, however narrow and stony and unromantic in its surroundings, often becomes pleasant and at times exciting. The bank clerk with a good book awaiting him in his rooms walks home after dining in Soho with a light step and shuts the door behind him with a bang. Has he not *Phineas Finn* to finish? Or is he not in the middle of Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion?* One good book leads to another, and opens out new vistas of endless enjoyment. Is it not worth while to learn French in order to read Dumas, Balzac, and Anatole France, to say nothing of hundreds of other delightful French books in every branch of human intelligence?

The love of reading is no dope or drug to buy oblivion or to shut down the fountain of tears, but even in grief it may hold out a helping hand, and, as we put it, 'roughly but not unfeelingly, 'pull us through', our troubles.

Why, then, should we neglect this source of comfort and enjoyment? By never forming this habit, or by allowing it to die down at forty and drop out of life, we are exposing ourselves unnecessarily to hours of boredom, ennui, and depression.

NOTES

Augustine Birrell (1850—1933) was the president of the Board of Education, England, and Chief Secretary for Ireland. As a writer he is famous as the author of *Obiter Dicta, William Hazlitt and Andrew Marvel.* This passage is taken from his *Collected Essays and Address.* It deals with the importance of cultivating the habit of reading and how it can be acquired.

stick—adhere; not give up.

the salt of life—the pick of life; the elite of life.

glimpse—brief view.

dark—gloomy.

abyss—deep chasm.

melancholia—mental disease marked by depression.

cafe—coffee-house.

dominoes—a kind of game played with 28 pieces marked with spots.

sustaining—supporting.

endure—bear with patience.

Three Musketeers—'adventures and intrigues of four french gentlemen in the reign of Louis XIII, written by Alexander Dumas.

War and Peace—written by Leo Tolstoy, a Russian nobleman, dealing with life in different circumstances—in war and peace.

breed—train; educate.

ostler—stableman at an inn.

Alpine expert—a practised or skilful climber of the Alps mountains.

Berne—in Switzerland—with a view of Alps.

stow—pack closely.
condemned—forced by circumstances.
access—approach.
Bodleian—in oxford, a very big library containing millions of volumes.
foster—encourage.
stimulate—excite; spur to action.
Non-conformist—Protestant dissenter. (Gladstone was a Catholic).
concerned—interested.
to make out—prove; represent.
gratify—please.
diligently—steadily; perseveringly.
shocking—scandalous.
abound—be plentiful.
Soho—district in London where there are many foreign restaurants.
vistas—views.
sting—acute pain.
boredom—weariness from tedious talk.
ennui—mental weariness from lack of ocupation or interest.
depression—low spirits.

Exercises

A

1. What is the first step in acquiring the habit of reading? How is this to be obtained? Which is the next step? What does it secure for us?

2. What can we not expect even from the best books? How far can a great book be of use when we are in grief? What can we avoid by forming the habit of reading and never allowing it to die down?

B

Explain with reference to the context :—

1. Never force your taste, but feed it.
2. The love of reading is no dope or drug to buy oblivion or to shut down a fountain of tears.

C

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context :—

1. Form the habit of reading and having formed it.....to it.
2. As the Alpine expert can pick out his peaks from the terrace at Berne, so the book-lover, on entering a library, even a municipal library, finds himself.....
3. Among men's habits, the habit of reading if persisted to the end is one of the most.....
4. The bank clerk with a .....walks home after dining in Soho with a light step and shuts the door behind him with a bang.
5. One good book leads to.....and opens new .....of endless enjoyment.
6. Never force your taste but.....it.
7. Even reading what you like best after such a fashion as to form an enduring habit, demands .....and occasionally.....

D

1. *Give the meanings of :—*

retain; suicide; pursuit; seldom; reprint; secure; dope; expose; drug.

2. *Use in sentences of your own :—*

to bid defiance; to foster; to make out; worth-while; to pull through; to have the run of; to find oneself at home.

E

Rewrite as directed :—

1. There is no greater gift of fortune than to have acquired the power 'to go back to one's book' with eagerness and joy.
(Change the degree of comparison)
2. How is this habit to be acquired?
(Change the voice)
3. What a cruel fate it is for a child to be born within those bookless walls!
(As an assertive sentence)
4. Form the habit of reading and stick to it.
(As a simple sentence)
5. Most of us find it difficult to stow away even five thousand volumes in our houses.
(As a negative sentence).

F

Analyse :—

1. But the familiarity of which I have been writing, though it can only be gained from access to large

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libraries and the study of second hand books, in no way leads to discontent with the few volumes that we happen to possess as our very own.

2. I am not blaming them, for they may possess other and equally enduring tastes; but I am only concerned to make out that amongst men's habits, the habit of reading, if it is persisted to the end, is one of the most pleasure-giving and is probably the most lasting.

LESSON 15

Mischiefs of Party Spirit

(JOSEPH ADDISON)

My worthy friend Sir Roger, when we are talking of the malice of parties, very frequently tells us an accident that happened to him when he was a schoolboy, which was at the time when the feuds ran high between the Roundheads and Cavaliers. This worthy knight, being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to St. Anne's Lane, upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him a young popish cur, and asked him who had made Anne a Saint. The boy, being in some confusion, inquired of the next he met, which was the way to Anne's Lane; but was called a prick-eared cur for his pains, and instead of being shown the way, was told that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. "Upon this," says Sir Roger, "I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane." By which ingenious artifice he found out the place he inquired after, without giving offence to any party. Sir

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Roger generally closes this narrative with reflections on the mischief that parties do in the country; how they spoil good neighbourhood, and make honest gentlemen hate one another.

There cannot a greater judgment befall a country than such a dreadful spirit of division as rends a government into two distinct people and makes them greater strangers and more averse to one another, than if they were actually two different nations. The effects of such a division are pernicious to the last degree, not only with regard to those advantages which they give the common enemy, but to those private evils which they produce in the heart of almost every particular person. This influence is very fatal both to men's morals and their understandings; it sinks the virtue of a nation, and not only so but destroys even common sense.

A furious party spirit, when it rages in its full violence, exerts itself in civil war and bloodshed; and when it is under its greatest restraints naturally, breaks out in falsehood, detraction, calumny, and a partial administration of justice. In a word, it fills a nation with spleen and rancour, and extinguishes all the seeds of goodnature, compassion, and humanity.

If this party-spirit has so ill an effect on our

morals, it has likewise a very great one upon our judgments. We often hear a poor insipid paper or pamphlet cried up, and sometimes a noble piece depreciated, by those who are of a different principle from the author. One who is actuated by this spirit is almost under an incapacity of discerning either real blemishes or beauties. A man of merit in a different principle is like an object seen in two different mediums, that appears crooked or broken, however straight and entire it may be in itself. For this reason there is scarce a person of any figure in England, who does not go by two contrary characters, as opposite to one another as light and darkness. Knowledge and learning suffer in a particular manner from this strange prejudice, which at present prevails amongst all ranks and degrees in the British nation. As men formerly became eminent in learned societies by their parts and acquisitions, they now distinguish themselves by the warmth and violence with which they espouse their respective parties.

Books are valued upon the like considerations. An abusive scurrilous style passes for satire, and a dull scheme of party notions is called fine writing.

For my own part I could heartily wish that

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all honest men would enter into an association, for the support of one another against the endeavours of those whom they ought to look upon as their common enemies, whatsoever side they may belong to. Were there such an honest body of neutral forces, we should never see the worst of men in great figures of life because they are useful to a party; nor the best unregarded because they are above practising those methods which would be grateful to their faction. We should then single every criminal out of the herd, and hunt him down, however formidable and over-grown he might appear: on the contrary, we should shelter distressed innocence, and defend virtue, however beset with contempt or ridicule, envy or defamation. In short, we should not any longer regard our fellow subjects as Whigs or Tories, but should make the man of merit our friend, and the villain our enemy.

NOTES

Joseph Addison (1672–1719), entered the Oxford University at the very early age of 15. He is best remembered for the work he did along with his friend Richard Steel, for the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*. His *Spectator* created a new literary taste, introducing a type of essay which was familiar and humorous, exposing the

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follies of contemporary life. He writes in a style which is simple, clear and graceful. This essay was written at a time when party spirit threatened to divide England. He points out the great mischief caused by party spirit, and advises everyone to be more tolerant of the other man's point of view.

A. *malice of parties*—mischief done by parties.
accident—chance happening.
feuds—quarrels.
Roundheads—members of the Puritan party.
Cavaliers—members of the Royalist party.
stripling—a youth growing into manhood.
popish cur—catholic dog.
ingenious artifice—clever trick.
game—birds and animals preserved for hunting.
judgment—doom; fate.
rends—divides.
averse—disinclined.
pernicious—harmful; injurious.
exerts itself—leads to; results in.
detraction—belittling.
calumny—slander.
spleen—spite; ill feeling.
rancour—hatred.
insipid—dull; worthless.
cried up—praised undeservedly.
depreciated—undervalued.
actuated—motivated.
discerning—understanding.
blemishes—defects.
figure—importance.

contrary chararcters—conflicting reputations.
parts—qualities.
espouse—support; back up.
scurrilous—indecent.
figures—positions.
unregarded—neglected.
grateful—agreeable.

Exercises

A. 1. How does party spirit harm the interests of the country?
2. How does party spirit affect individuals?
3. What is Addison's advice to those who are interested in their country?

B. *Explain with reference to the context:*—
1. By which ingenious artifice he found out the place he inquired after, without giving offence to any party.
2. A man of merit in a different principle, is like an object seen in two different mediums.
3. We should not any longer regard our fellow subjects as Whigs or Tories.

C. *Give the equivalents of:*—
passion; vicious; zeal; contrary; reproach; esteem; endeavours; contempt.

D. 1. *Analyse:*—
There cannot a greater judgment *befall* a country than *such* a *dreadful* spirit of division *as* rends a government *into* two *distinct* people, and *makes* them *greater* strangers and more *averse* to one another.

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2. Parse the words in italics in the above sentence.

E Form sentences by matching clauses from column 'A', with those under column 'B', so as to make the best sense :—

A

i. It is party spirit which—
ii. People thinking in terms of parties—
iii. Party principles are so harmful—
iv. When party feelings run high—

B

1. That they even affect knowledge and understanding.
2. divides a government into two distinct people.
3. do not recognise merit.
4. their morals and understandings are corrupted.
5. this is bad for the country.

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LESSON 16

HAZLITT'S LETTER TO HIS SON

(W. HAZLITT)

My Dear Little Fellow,

You are now going to settle at school, and may consider this as your first entrance into the world. As my health is so indifferent, and I may not be with you long, I wish to leave you some advice (the best I can) for your conduct in life, both that it may be of use to you, and as something to remember me by. I may at least be able to caution you against my own errors, if nothing else.

As we went along to your new place of destination, you often repeated that you durst say that they were a set of stupid, disagreeable people, meaning the people at the school. You were to blame in this. It is a good old rule to hope for the best. Always, my dear, believe things to be right till you find them the contrary; and even then, instead of irritating yourself against them, endeavour to put up with them as well as you can, if you cannot alter them. You said you were sure you should not like the school where you were going. This was wrong. What you meant was that you did not like to leave

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home. But you could not tell whether you should like the school or not, till you have given it a trial. Otherwise, your saying that you should not like it was determining that you would not like it. Never anticipate evils; or, because you cannot have things exactly as you wish, make them out worse than they are, through mere spite and wilfulness.

You seemed at first to take no notice of your school-fellows, or rather to set yourself against them, because they were strangers to you. They new as little of you as you did of them; so that this would have been a reason for their keeping aloof from you as well, which you would have felt as a hardship. Learn never to conceive a prejudice against others because you know nothing of them. It is bad reasoning, and makes enemies of half the world. Do not think ill of them till they behave ill to you; and then strive to avoid the faults which you see in them. This will disarm their hostility sooner than pique or resentment or complaint.

II

I thought you were disposed to criticize the dress of some of the boys as not so good as your own. Never despise anyone for anything that he cannot help; least of all, for his poverty.

I would wish you to keep up appearances yourself as a defence against the idle sneers of the world; but I wold not have you value yourself upon them. I hope you will neither be the dupe nor victim of vulgar prejudices. Instead of saying above, "Never despise anyone for anything that he cannot help." I might have said, "Never despise anyone at all," for contempt implies a triumph over and pleasure in the ill of another. It seems that you are glad and congratulate yourself on their failings or misfortunes.

III

You complain, since, that the boys laugh at you and do not care about you, and that you are not treated as you were at home. My dear, that is one chief reason for your being sent to school, to inure you, betimes, to the unavoidable rubs and uncertain reception you may meet with in life. You cannot always be with me, and perhaps it is as well that you cannot. But you must not expect others to show the same concern about you as I should. You have hitherto been a spoilt child, and have been used to have your own way a good deal, both in the house and among your playfellows, with whom you were too fond of being a leader; but you have

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good nature and good sense, and will get the better of this in time. You have now got among other boys who are your equals, or bigger and stronger than yourself, and who have something else to attend to besides humouring your whims and fancies, and you feel this as a repulse or piece of injustice. But the first lesson to learn is that there are other people in the world besides yourself.

IV

There are a number of boys in the school where you are, whose amusements and pursuits (whatever they may be) are and ought to be of as much consequence to them as yours can be to you, and to which therefore you must give way in your turn. The more airs of childish self-importance you give yourself, you will only expose yourself to be the more thwarted and laughed at. True equality is the only true morality or true wisdom. Remember always that you are but one among others, and you can hardly mistake your place in society. In your father's house you might do as you pleased: in the world you will find competitors at every turn. You are not born a king's son to destroy or dictate to millions; you can only expect to share their fate, or settle your

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differences amicably with them. You already find it so at school, and I wish you to be reconciled to your situation as soon and with as little pain as you can :

I am, dear little fellow,
Your affectionate father,
W. HAZLITT.

NOTES

William Hazlitt (1778—1830) is one of the outstanding English essayists and critics. He is the author of '*Life of Napolean*', '*Lectures on English Poets*', '*Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*', etc. His style is vivid and graceful.

This letter was written by Hazlitt to his 11-year old son who had been admitted in a distant boarding school.

indifferent—not very good.
durst—dared.
endeavour—attempt.
determining—deciding.
spite—ill will.
wilfulness—obstinacy.
set yourself—be unfriendly to.
conceive—to form in the mind.
disarm—put an end to.
hostility—enmity.
pique—annoyance.
resentment—strong dislike.
cannot help—cannot avoid.

defence – protection.
idle sneers—vain contempt,
dupe—one who is cheated.
victim—prey.
triumph—rejoicing.
failings—faults.
exulting—triumphant.
to inure you—to make you get accustomed.
rubs—difficulties.
betimes—early in life.
concern—interest.
get the better of—overcome.
humouring—pleasing.
repulse—refusal.
consequence—importance.
thwarted—crossed.
amicably—in a friendly spirit.
reconciled—adjusted.

Exercises

A. *Answer the following:—*

1. What made Hazlitt write this letter to his son?
2. What ideas of the school did the boy have when he entered it? Why did Hazlitt consider them as wrong?
3. What was Hazlitt's advice to his son to win the friendship of his schoolmates?
4. How did he bring home the truth of the saying 'Never despise anyone at all'?
5. What was his advice about dress?
6. What was his chief reason for sending the boy to the school?

7. What was his advice about the boy assuming airs?
8. What faults did Hazlitt notice in his son?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. Your saying that you should not like it was determining that you would not like it.
2. It is bad reasoning and makes enemies of half the world.
3. The sense of inferiority in others without this indirect appeal to self love is a painful feeling and not an exulting one.
4. But the first lesson to learn is that there are other people in the world besides yourself.
5. True equality is the only true morality of true wisdom.

C. *Make a list of the maxims you find in Hazlitt's advice to his son.*

D. (i) *Use the following in sentences of your own :—*

to put up with; contrary; anticipate; set oneself against; cannot help: resentment; to be disposed to; to keep appearance; get the better of; to give oneself airs; at every turn; to be reconciled to; whims and fancies.

(ii) Frame sentences to distinguish the meanings of words in each of the following pairs :—

(alter, altar), (endeavour, endear), (contrary, contradictory), (failings, failures).

E. *Rewrite as directed :—*

1. They knew as little of you as you did of them. (change into negative without changing the meaning)

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2. You complain that the boys laugh at you. (Change the voice of the verbs)
3. It is bad reasoning and makes enemies of half the world. (Change into complex sentence)
4. You cannot always be with me. (Remove the negative)
5. You have now got among other boys who have something else to attend to besides humouring your whims and fancies. (Use 'not only'...)

F. *Add question tags:*—

i. This was wrong,——
ii. But you could not tell whether you should like the school,——
iii. This would have been a reason for their keeping aloof,—
vi. It means you are glad, ——

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LESSON 17

BUDDHA'S MESSAGE

(S. RADHAKRISHNAN.)

Enlightenment is not something given but a task. Man is the architect of his own future. Man has to mould himself. He must re-group his inward resources, tidy up his mind which is generally dispersed. The path of wisdom is not reached in an easy way. We must reach it in solitude and labour night and day. The **Dhammapada** says : "The Buddhas do but tell the way ; it is for each one of us to swelter at the task".

The way to the attainment of this goal is through the eight-fold moral path. The first step is right views. The Buddha insists on clean and clear thinking, on what we may call the morality of thought. It is the cleansing of the heart that is called for. The Buddha insists on a clean heart, the right frame of mind. He demands the observance of religion, not religiosity.

We must rid ourselves of the anxious craving, of fiery, self-devouring desire. We must become changed men before society can be changed.

The Buddha gave his message against a

background of religious practice which he sought not so much to repudiate as to purify. The state of our society today requires purification. The system of caste and untouchability which we still tolerate and the absurd rites which still prevail in rural areas require to be removed. At a time like the present when we are engaged in re-building our country, we have to guard ourselves against temptations. The greed for power is as injurious as the gambling instinct or love for money. The more we have, the more we want. The country needs today men who adopt as a principle the simple, austere life and courage to suffer for the community. Small considerations of family and caste, religion and community require to be set aside.

The Buddhist Panchasila calls upon us to change our nature. It prohibits killing under any circumstances; since we cannot give life, we should not take life. It insists on respecting other people's property, detests the life of unchastity and of falsehood and forbids the use of intoxicants. Its adoption will lead to a change in man's outlook. This spiritual perception should be brought into the space-time world and penetrate it. All nature will then become ablaze with the inward light. It will give

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us an essential serenity which we retain in the depths of our soul, even when we live in the midst of storms.

When transferred to the international plane, it becomes a code of international morality requiring us to practise non-aggression, non-interference, peaceful, co-operative, and educative co-existence.

We must strive to bind up the wounds of the suffering world, build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice. For this we should be transformed, and develop love whose presence reconciles all enmities, melts all hatreds and kindles to active life all powers that seem to resist it.

The Buddha taught us to be ready to oppose injustice with courage, break down the barriers of caste and race which disfigure the human community. He fed the hungry, nursed the sick, consorted with criminals and outcasts, lifted up the downtrodden and the condemned and demanded by his teaching and example that we love even our enemies.

Notes

Buddha Jayanthi or the celebrations of the birthday of Buddha, falls on the full-moon day of Vaishakha and has been given great prominence in India which has for its guidance on the international plane, the panchashila preached by Buddha. This passage is an extract from an address given by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1886—) at a public meeting to celebrate Buddha Jayanthi at Delhi, on 24th May 1956. Dr. Radhakrishnan has achieved international fame as a philosopher and statesman. He is now the Vice-President of the Sovereign Republic of India. Some of his important works are: *The Hindu View of Life; Gautama the Buddha; and The Religion We Need.*

enlightenment—knowledge of the ultimate truth; wisdom.

mould—form or shape according to a pattern.

resources—means.

tidy up—put in order; make neat.

dispersed—go in various ways.

Dammapada—a sacred book of the Buddhists.

The Buddhas—enlightened ones: those who have attained perfect knowledge. (Gautama Buddha was one of them)

swelter—labour; work hard.

attainment—gaining or reaching one's goal.

eightfold moral path—Buddha preached that the way to bliss lay through—

1. right views.
2. right intention.
3. right speech.
4. right action.
5. right livelihood.
6. right effort.

7. right mindedness. 8. right concentration.

to rid of—to free oneself from.

fiery—burning.

self devouring—destroying oneself.

repudiate—disown.

tolerate—endure ; to put up with.

absurd rites—ridiculous ceremonies.

austere—morally strict.

panchashila—five principles of right conduct.

prohibit—forbid ; order not to do.

unchastity—impure life.

spiritual perception—understanding of the true nature of things.

space-time world—this world of ours which is limited by space and time unlike the spiritual which is boundless and eternal.

penetrate—to go deep.

ablaze—shining.

essential—most important.

serenity—calmness.

non-aggression—refraining from unprovoked attacks.

co-exist—to exist at the same time.

abiding—lasting.

rooted in—has its basis or source in.

reconcile—make friendly.

kindles—inspires.

resist—oppose.

barriers—obstacles.

disfigure—to make ugly.

consorted—associated.

downtrodden—oppressed.

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Exercises

A

1. What is the way to the attainment of the goal of enlightenment according to Buddha? Why is it a task?
2. How will the adoption of the panchashila affect a man's outlook?

B

Explain with reference to the context :—

1. The Buddhas do but tell us the way; it is for each one of us to swelter at the task,
2. The more we have, the more we want.
3. Man is the architect of his own future.

C

Fill in the blanks bearing in mind the context :—

1. Enlightenment is not something given but .....
2. Buddha demands the observance of religion but not.....
3. We must become.....men before society can be.....
4. Buddha gave his message against a background of religious practice which he sought not so much to.....as to.....
5. Buddha demanded by teaching and practice that we love.....

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D

Enumerate :—

1. The state of our society today requires purification in :—
   (a)
   (b)
   (c)
   (d)
   (e)
2. The Buddhist panchashila consists of :—
   (a)
   (b)
   (c)
   (d)
   (e)

E

1. *Give the meanings of :—*
   task; architect; solitude; labour; craving; temptation; principle; intoxicant; outlook; code; outcast.
2. *Distinguish between :—*
   insist—persist; prevail—avail; rural—urban; principle—principal; detest—attest; oppose—propose.
3. *Use in sentences of your own :—*
   to get rid of; to call upon; to set aside.

F

Rewrite as directed :—

1. The path of wisdom is not reached in an easy way. (remove the negative)

2. It is the cleansing of the heart that is called for.
(as a simple sentence)
3. We must become changed men before we can change society. (make the subordinate clause the principal clause)
4. The Buddhà gave his message against a background of religious practice which he sought not so much to repudiate as to purify.
(Change the degree of comparison)

G

Analyse :—

It will give us an essential serenity which we retain in the depths of our soul even when we live in the midst of storms.

LESSON 18

THE TEMPEST

(WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE)

There was a certain island in the sea, the only inhabitants of which were an old man, whose name was Prospero, and his daughter Miranda, a very beautiful young lady. She came to this island so young, that she had no memory of having seen any other human face than her father's.

They lived in a cave or cell, made out of a rock; it was divided into several apartments, one of which Prospero called his study; there he kept his books which chiefly treated of magic, a study at that time much affected by all learned men: and the knowledge of this art he found very useful to him, for being thrown by a strange chance upon this island, which had been enchanted by a witch called Sycorax who died there but a short time before his arrival, Prospero, by virtue of his art, released many good spirits that Sycorax had imprisoned in the bodies of large trees, because they had refused to execute her wicked commands. These gentle spirits were ever after obedient to the will of Prospero. Of these Ariel was the chief.

The lively little sprite Ariel had nothing mischievous in his nature, except that he took rather too much pleasure, in tormenting an ugly monster called Caliban, for he owed him a grudge because he was the son of his old enemy Sycorax. This Caliban Prospero found in the woods, a strange misshapen thing far less human in form than an ape: he took him home to his cell and taught him to speak; and Prospero would have been very kind to him, but the bad nature which Caliban inherited from his mother Sycorax, would not let him learn anything good or useful: therefore he was employed like a slave, to fetch wood and do the most laborious offices; and Ariel had the charge of compelling him to these services.

When Caliban was lazy and neglected his work, Ariel (who was invisible to all eyes but Prospero's) would come slyly and pinch him, and sometimes tumble him down in the mire; and then Ariel, in the likeness of an ape, would make mouths at him. Then swiftly changing his shape, in the likeness of a hedgehog he would lie tumbling in Caliban's way. With a variety of such-like vexatious tricks Ariel would often torment him, whenever Caliban neglected the work which Prospero commanded him to do.

Having these powerful spirits obedient to his will, Prospero could by their means command the winds, and the waves of the sea. By his orders they raised a violent storm, in the midst of which, and struggling with the wild sea-waves that every moment threatened to swallow it up, he showed his daughter a fine large ship, which he told her was full of living beings like themselves. 'O my dear father', said she, 'If by your art you have raised this dreadful storm, have pity on their sad distress. See! the vessel will be dashed to pieces. Poor souls! they will all perish. If I had power I would sink the sea beneath the earth, rather than the good ship should be destroyed with all the precious souls within her'.

'Be not so amazed, daughter Miranda,' said Prospero; 'there is no harm done. I have so orderd it that no person in the ship shall recive any hurt. What I have done has been in care of you, my dear child. You are ignorant who you are, or where you came from, and you know no more of me, but that I am your father and live in this poor cave. Can you remember a time before you came to this cell? I think you cannot, for you were not then three years of age'.

'Certainly, I can, sir,' replied Miranda.

'By what' asked Prospero; 'by any other house or person? Tell me what you can remember, my child.'

Miranda said, 'It seems to me like the remembrance of a dream. But had I not once four or five women who attended upon me?'

Prospero answered, 'You had, and more. How is it that this still lives in your mind? Do you remember how you came here?'

'No, sir,' said Miranda, 'I remember nothing more'.

Twelve years ago, Miranda,' continued Prospero, 'I was duke of Milan, and you were a princess and my only heir. I had a younger brother whose name was Antonio, to whom I trusted everything; and as I was fond of retirement and deep study, I commonly left the management of my state affairs to your uncle, my false brother (for so indeed he proved). I, neglecting all worldly ends, buried among my books, did dedicate my whole time to the bettering of my mind. My brother Antonio being thus in possession of my power, began to think himself the duke indeed. The opportunity I gave him of making himself popular among my subjects, awakened in his bad nature a proud

ambition to deprive me of my dukedom; this he soon effected with the aid of the king of Naples, a powerful prince who was my enemy'.

'Wherefore,' said Miranda, 'did they not that hour destroy us?'

'My child,' answered her father, 'they drust not, so dear was the love that my people bore me. Antonio carried us on board a ship, and when we were some leagues out at sea he forced us into a small boat, without either tackle, sail, or mast: there he left us as he thought to perish. But a kind lord of my court, one Gonzalo, who loved me, had privately placed in the boat, water, provisions, apparel, and some books which I prize above my dukedom'.

'O my father.' said Miranda, 'what a trouble must I have been to you then!'

'No, my love', said Prospero, 'you were a little cherub that did preserve me. Your innocent smiles made me bear up against my misfortunes. Our food lasted till we landed on this desert island, since when my chief delight has been in teaching you, Miranda, and well have you profited by my instructions'.

'Heaven thank you, my dear father,' said Miranda. 'Now pray tell me, sir, your reason for raising this sea-storm?'

1303

'Know then,' said her father, 'that by means of this storm, my enemies, the king of Naples, and my cruel brother, are cast ashore upon this island'.

Having so said, Prospero gently touched his daughter with his magic wand, and she fell fast asleep; for the spirit Ariel just then presented himself before his master, to give an account of the tempest, and how he had disposed of the ship's company; and though the spirits were always invisible to Miranda, Prospero did not choose she should hear him holding converse (as would seem to her) with the empty air.

'Well, my brave spirit,' said Prospero to Ariel 'how have you performed your task?'

Ariel gave a lively description of the storm, and of the terrors of the mariners; and how the king's son, Ferdinand, was the first who leaped into the sea; and his father thought he saw his dear son swallowed up by the waves and lost. 'But he is safe,' said Ariel, 'in a corner of the isle, sitting with his arms folded, sadly lamenting the loss of the king his father, whom he concludes drowned. Not a hair of his head is injured, and his princely garments, though drenched in the sea-waves, look fresher than before'.

'That's my delicate Ariel,' said Prospero. 'Bring him hither: my daughter must see this young prince. Where is the king, and my brother?'

'I left them,' answered Ariel, 'searching for Ferdinand, whom they have little hopes of finding, thinking they saw him perish. Of the ship's crew not one is missing; though each one thinks himself the only one saved: and the ship, though invisible to them is safe in the harbour'.

'Ariel,' said Prospero, 'thy charge is faithfully performed; but there is more work yet'.

'Is there more work?' said Ariel. 'Let me remind you, master, you have promised me my liberty. I pray, remember, I have done you worthy service, told you no lies, made no mistakes, served you without grudge or grumbling'.

'How now!'. said Prospero. You do not recollect what a torment I freed you from. Have you forgot the wicked witch Sycorax. who with age and envy was almost bent double? Where was she born? Speak, tell me'.

'Sir, in Algiers,' said Ariel.

'O was she so?' said Prospero. 'I must recount what you have been, which I find you

1325

do not remember. This bad witch, Sycorax, for her witchcrafts, too terrible to enter human hearing, was banished from Algiers, and here left by the sailors; and because you were a spirit too delicate to execute her wicked commands, she shut you up in a tree, where I found you howling. This torment, remember, I did free you from'.

'Pardon me, dear master,' said Ariel, ashamed to seem ungrateful; 'I will obey your commands'.

'Do so,' said Prospero, 'and I will set you free'. He then gave orders what further he would have him do; and away went Ariel, first to where he had left Ferdinand, and found him still sitting on the grass in the same melancholy posture.

Ariel began singing. Ferdinand, followed in amazement the sound of Ariel's voice, till it led him to Prospero and Miranda who were sitting under the shade of a large tree.

Miranda, who thought all men had grave faces and grey beards like her father, was delighted with the appearance of this beautiful young prince; and Ferdinand seeing such a lovely lady in this desert place, and from the strange sounds he had heard expecting nothing

1326

but wonders, thought he was upon an enchanted island and that Miranda was the goddess of the place, and as such he began to address her.

She timidly answered she was no goddess but a simple maid, and was going to give him an account of herself when Prospero interrupted her. He was well pleased to find they admired each other, for he plainly perceived they had fallen in love at first sight; but to try Ferdinand's constancy, he resolved to throw some difficulties in their way: therefore advancing forward he addressed the prince with a stern air, telling him he came to the island as a spy to take it from him who was the lord of it. 'Follow me,' said he, 'I will tie you neck and feet together. You shall drink sea-water; shell-fish, withered roots, and husks of acorns shall be your food.' 'No', said Ferdinand, 'I will resist such entertainment till I see a more powerful enemy', and drew his sword; but Prospero, waving his magic wand, fixed him to the spot where he stood, so that he had no power to move.

Miranda hung upon her father, saying, 'Why are you so ungentle? Have pity, sir; I will be his surety, this is the second man I ever saw, and to me he seems a true one.'

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'Silence,' said the father; 'one word more will make me chide you, girl! What! an advocate for an impostor! you think there are no more such fine men, having seen only him and Caliban. I tell you, foolish girl, most men as far excel this as he does Caliban.' This he said to prove his daughter's constancy; and she replied, 'My affections are most humble. I have no wish to see a goodlier man.'

'Come on, young man,' said Prospero to the prince, 'you have no power to disobey me'.

'I have not indeed,' answered Ferdinand; and not knowing that it was by magic he was deprived of all power of resistance, he was astonished to find himself so strangely compelled to follow Prospero: looking back on Miranda as long as he could see her, he said, as he went after Prospero into the cave, 'My spirits are all bound up as if I were in a dream; but this man's threats, and the weakness which I feel, would seem light to me if from my prison I might once a day behold this fair maid.'

Prospero kept Ferdinand not long confined within the cell: he soon brought out his prisoner and set him a severe task to perform, taking care to let his daughter know the hard labour he had imposed on him, and then pretending to go into

his study, he secretly watched them both.

Prospero had commanded Ferdinand to pile up some heavy logs of wood. Miranda soon after found her lover almost dying with fatigue. 'Alas,' said she, 'do not work so hard; my father is at his studies, he is safe for these three hours; pray, rest yourself'.

'O my dear lady,' said Ferdinand, 'I dare not. I must finish my task before I take my rest'.

'If you will sit down,' said Miranda, 'I will carry your logs the while'. But this Ferdinand would by no means agree to.

In answer to his praises of her beauty, which he said exceeded all the women in the world, Miranda replied, 'I would not wish any companion in the world but you, nor can my imagination form any shape but yours that I could like'. Prospero was very much pleased at these words of the lovers.

He made his appearance and said 'Ferdinand, if I have too severely used you, I will make you rich amends by giving you my daughter. All your vexations were but trials of your love and you have nobly stood the test. Then as my gift, which your true love has worthily purchased, take my daughter, and do not smile

that I boast she is above all praise'. He then, telling them that he had business which required his presence, desired they would sit down and talk together till he returned.

Prospero then, called his spirit Ariel, who quickly appeared before him and told him that he had left Prospero's brother and the king of Naples, almost out of their senses, with fear at the strange things he had caused them to see and hear, and that they had repented the injustice they had done to Prospero.

'Then bring them hither, Ariel,' said Prospero.

Ariel soon returned with the king, Antonio, and old Gonzalo. This Gonzalo was the same who had so kindly provided Prospero formerly with books and provisions, when his wicked brother left him, as he thought, to perish in an open boat in the sea.

Grief and terror had so stupefied their senses, that they did not know Prospero. He first discovered himself to the good old Gonzalo, calling him the preserver of his life; and then his brother and the king knew that he was the injured Prospero.

Antonio with tears implored his brother's forgiveness, and the king expressed his sincere

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remorse for having assisted Antonio to depose his brother: and Prospero forgave them; and upon their engaging to restore his dukedom, he said to the king of Naples, 'I have a gift in store for you too'; and opening a door, showed him his son Ferdinand, playing at chess with Miranda.

The king of Naples was almost as much astonished at the beauty and excellent graces of the young Miranda as his son had been. The kind old Gonzalo wept to see this joyful reconciliation, and prayed for blessings on the young couple.

Prospero now told them that their ship was safe in the harbour, and the sailors all on board her, and that he and his daughter would accompany them home. Before he left the island he dismissed Ariel from his service, to the great joy of that lively little spirit.

Prospero then buried deep in the earth his magical books and wand, for he was resolved never more to make use of the magic art. And having thus overcome his enemies, and being reconciled to his brother and the king of Naples, nothing now remained to complete his happiness, but to re-visit his native land, to take possession of his dukedom and to witness the happy

1331

nuptials of his daughter Miranda and Prince Ferdinand, which the king said should be instantly celebrated with great splendour on their return to Naples. At which place, under the safe convoy of the spirit Ariel, they after a pleasant voyage soon arrived.

Notes

William Shakespeare (1564–1616) is acknowledged as the greatest dramatist of the world. After writing his famous tragedies like *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear and Macbeth,* in which he makes men and women suffer greatly and die for their misdeeds he wrote his dramatic romances like *The Tempest, Cymbeline,* etc. In these final plays, Shakespeare in the fulness of his powers, having grown more tolerant and with a better understanding of the motives and actions of human beings, shows, that it is a much nobler thing to forgive man for his wrong doings than to punish him for them. In other words, his general attitude at the time is 'Pardon is the word for all'. In this piece, which is an abridgment of Shakespeare's play as narrated by Charles and his sister Mary Lamb in their *Tales from Shakespeare,* Prosper forgives Antonio, Alonso and others and a reconciliation is brought about through Miranda and Ferdinand, who fall in love with each other and finally marry.

tempest—violent storm, or wind often accompanied by rain.
inhabitants—persons who lived.
apartments—rooms.
study—study room.
treated of—dealt with.
affected—cultivated.
enchanted—laid under a magic spell.
witch—woman practising magic.
by virtue of—by means of.
released—set free.
execute—carry out.
sprite—elf; fairy; goblin.
tormenting—torturing.
monster—misshapen wicked person.
owed...grudge—bore ill-will against him.
ape—tailless monkey.
laborious—difficult.
offices—duties.
charge—responsibility.
invisible—that which cannot be seen.
slyly—unobserved.
tumble...down—throw him into.
mire—mud.
likeness—form; shape.
make mouths at him—mock at him.
hedgehog—a small prickly-backed animal with a snout like a hog.
tumbling—rolling.
swallow it up—drown it.
raised—brought about.

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dreadful—fearful.
vessel—ship.
perish—die.
amazed—surprised.
in care of you—in your interest.
like the remembrance—like remembering.
attended—waited.
trusted—entrusted.
retirement—privacy.
deep study—serious reading.
commonly—usually.
false—unfaithful.
ends—objects.
bettering—improvement.
to deprive me of—to take away from me.
effected—brought about.
wherefor—why.
that hour—at that time.
durst—dared.
bore me—had for me.
tackle—mechanism in a ship for lifting weights, sails, etc.
mast—long pole on a ship which supports sails.
privately—secretly.
provisions—foodstuffs.
prize—value.
cherub—angelic being; beautiful or innocent child.
bear up against—fight against.
profited—benefited.
wand—thin rod.
presented himself—came.

1332

disposed of—dealt with.
choose—like.
holding converse—talking.
brave—beautiful.
mariners—sailors.
leaped—jumped.
lamenting—mourning over.
concludes—considers.
garments—clothes.
drenched—wetted.
hither—here.
crew—sailors.
worthy—excellent.
recollect—remember.
age—old age.
envy—ill will.
recount—tell.
witchcrafts—use of magic.
to enter human hearing—to be heard by human beings.
banished—driven out of.
howling—crying loudly in pain.
he would have....do—wished him to do.
melancholy—sad.
posture—position.
grave—serious.
timidly—nervously.
interrupted—stopped.
plainly—clearly.
constancy—faithfulness.
withered—dried up.
husks—outer coverings.

1335

acorns—fruits of the oak tree.
resist—fight against.
entertainment—treatment.
surety—security.
true—honest.
chide—rebuke.
impostor—one who assumes a false character.
excel—surpass.
prove—test.
goodlier—more handsome.
all bound up—all confused.
confined—imprisoned.
severe—hard.
imposed on—forcibly given to.
fatigue—weariness.
the while—in the meantime.
exceeded—surpassed.
used you—treated you.
amends—compensation.
required his presence—needed his attention.
out of their senses—mad.
stupefied....senses—deprived them of their senses.
preserver—saviour.
injured—wronged.
implored—begged.
remorse—bitter repentance.
engaging—promising.
graces—beauty.
reconciliation—becoming friends again after being estranged.
resolved—determined.

instantly—immediately.
convoy—escort.
voyage—journey by sea.

EXERCISES

A. 1. How did Prospero and Miranda come to live on the desert island?
2. *Answer the following about Ariel:—*
   a. Who was Ariel?
   b. Where did Prospero find him?
   c. How did Ariel serve Prospero?
   d. What reward did he expect from Prospero?
3. *Answser the following about Caliban:—*
   a. Who was Caliban?
   b. Why did Ariel torment him?
   c. What were the tasks allotted to him by Prospero?
   d. How did Ariel compel him to carry out his duties?
4. What was Prospero's motive in raising the storm?
5. How did Prospero prepare Miranda for Ferdinand's coming?
6. Why did Prospero bring Miranda and Ferdinand together? How did he test their constancy?
7. In what ways is Prospero's affection for his daughter revealed?

8. Why did Prospero have a high regard for Gonzalo?
9. Why did Prospero bury his magical books and wand before returning to his dukedom?

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. If by your art.....sad distress.
2. O my father.....what a trouble....to you then?
3. No, my love...you were...preserve me.
4. She timidly answered...a simple maid.
5. No I will resist...a more powerful enemy.
6. Why are you so ungentle...surety.
7. What! an advocate...no more such fine men.
8. I have no wish to see a goodlier man.
9. All your vexations....stood the test.
10. I have a gift in store for you too.

C. *Use the following in your sentences:—*

by virtue of; owe one a grudge; in the likeness of; to deprive of; to board a ship; bear up against; to give an account of; to dispose of; power of resistance; to make amends; above all praise; to take possession of; in store for; torment; to present oneself; drenched; to the great joy of.

D. *Give the noun forms of:—*

resolve; dismiss; reconcile; grieve; provide; repent; require; appear; exceed; perceive; prove.

E. *Give the past tense and past participle of:—*

bid; chide; lie; bear; rise; leap.

F. *Turn into Indirect speech:—*

'Ariel said Prospero.....grudge or grumbling.'

1338

G. *Fill in the blanks using prepositions :—*

1. Romeo was banished...Verona...the Duke.
2. Miranda was ignorant...her true status.
3. Ariel enjoyed making mouths...Caliban.
4. One profits...one's experiences.
5. It is of no use lamenting...what is lost for ever.

1339

POETRY

LESSON 19

THE BEGINNING

(RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

"Where have I come from, where did you pick me up?" the baby asked its mother.

She answered half crying, half laughing, and clasping the baby to her breast,—

"You were hidden in my heart as its desire my darling.

You were in the dolls of my childhood's games; and when with clay I made the image of my God every morning, I made and unmade you then.

You were enshrined with our household diety, in his worship I worshipped you.

In all my hopes and my loves, in my life, in the life of my mother you have lived.

In the lap of the deathless Spirit who rules our home you have been nursed for ages.

When in girlhood my heart was opening its petals, you hovered as a fragrance about it.

Your tender softness bloomed in my youthful limbs, like a glow in the sky before the sunrise.

Heaven's first darling, twin-born with the morning light, you have floated down the stream

B41

of the world's life, and at last you have stranded on my heart.

As I gaze on your face, mystery overwhelms me ; you who belong to all have become mine.

For fear of losing you I hold you tight to my breast. What magic has snared the world's treasure in these slender arms of mine?

NOTES

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a great Bengali poet, was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1911. He founded the well known Shantiniketan to put into practice his great educational ideals. In the many poems, short stories, novels and plays he has written, this great patriot has interpreted India to the rest of the world. The *Gitanjali* brought him international fame. His poems are characterised by love of Nature, simple themes, effective imagery and music. He has written poems some of which are pure lyrics and others are mystical, allegorical, and deeply philosophical. He is the author of our National Anthem. Some of his important works are, *The Wreck, Gora, Lover's Gift Sacrifice, and Chitra.* This poem is taken from *The Cresent Moon.* Here is a poet's explanation of what a child means to every mother.

clasping—holding.
enshrined—preserved with love.
deity—a god or goddess.
hovered—moved about.
fragrance—sweet smell.

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glow—light.
bloomed—flowered.
stranded—landed.
overwhelms—overpowers.
snared—trapped.
slender—feeble.

Exercises

A

1. The fond mother sees her child in various forms long before it is born. What are these forms?
2. In what terms is the mother's love for her child expressed in the poem?

B

Explain with reference to the context:—

1. You were hidden in my heart as its desire.
2. I made and unmade you then.
3. In the lap of the deathless Spirit who rules our home you have been nursed for ages.
4. Your tender softness bloomed in my youthful limbs, like a glow in the sky before the sunrise.
5. Heaven's first darling, twin-born with the morning light, you have floated down the stream of the world's life.

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LESSON 20

TO BLOSSOMS

(R. HERRICK)

Fair pledges of a fruitful tree,
Why do ye fall so fast?
Your date is not so past,
But you may stay yet here awhile
To blush and gently smile,
And go at last.

What, were ye born to be
An hour or half's delight,
And so to bid good-night?
'Twas pity Nature brought ye forth
Merely to show your worth,
And lose you quite.

But you are lovely leaves, where we
May read how soon things have
Their end, though ne'er so brave:
And after they have shown their pride
Like you awhile, they glide
Into the grave.

1343

Notes

Robert Herrick (1591—1674) was the son of a prosperous goldsmith. He has written a lot of religious verse, but his reputation rests on his secular lyrics which are both graceful and sweet. In *To Blossoms*, the poet expresses the idea that lovely things on this earth pass away quickly and leave man with a sense of sadness.

fair pledges—refers to blossoms.
date—span of life.
brought ye forth—created you.
lose you quite—lose you entirely.
brave—beautiful.
glide—vanish.

Exercises

A. 1. Why does the poet feel sad when the blossoms fall?

2. 'All beautiful things suffer the same fate as the blossoms.'

How is this idea brought out in the poem?

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. Why do ye fall so fast?
Your date is not so past

2. 'Twas pity Nature brought ye forth.
Merely to show your worth,
Any lose you quite.

3. But you are lovely leaves, where we
May read how soon things have
Their end, though ne'er so brave.

C. *Name the figures of speech in the following:—*

1. Fair pledges of a fruitful tree
2. But you are lovely leaves.

1344

LESSON 21

THE PLATE OF GOLD

(LEIGH HUNT)

One day there fell in great Benares' temple-
court
A wondrous plate of gold, whereon these words
were writ
'To him who loveth best, a gift from Heaven.
Thereat
The priests made proclamation: 'At the midday
hour,
Each day, let those assemble who for virtue deem
Their right to heaven's gift the best; and we
will hear
The deeds of mercy done, and so adjudge.'
The news
Ran swift as light, and soon from every quarter
came
Nobles and *Munshis*, hermits, scholars, holy men,
And all renowned for gracious or for splendid
deeds.
Meanwhile the priests in solemn council sat and
heard
What each had done to merit best the gift of
Heaven,

1345

So, for a year the claimants came and went.
At last,
After a patient weighing of the worth of all,
The priests bestowed the plate of gold on one
who seemed
The largest lover of the race—whose whole
estate,
Within the year, had parted been among the
poor.
This man, all trembling with his joy, advanced
to take
The golden plate—when lo! at his first finger
touch
It changed to basest lead! All stood aghast; but
when
The hapless claimant dropt it clanging on the
floor,
Heaven's guerdon was again transformed to
shining gold.

So for another twelve month sat the priests and
judged.
Thrice they awarded—thrice did Heaven refuse
the gift.
Meanwhile a host of poor, maimed beggars in
the street
Lay all about the temple gate, in hope to move

That love whereby each claimant hoped to win
the gift.
And well for them it was (if gold be charity),
For every pilgrim to the temple gate praised God
That love might thus approve itself before the
test.
And so the coins rained freely in the outstretched
hands;
But none of those who gave, so much as turned
to look
Into the poor sad eyes of them that begged,
And now
The second year had almost passed, but still the
plate
Of gold, by whomsoever touched, was turned to
lead.
At length there came a simple peasant—not
aware
Of that strange contest for the gift of God—to
pay
A vow within the temple. As he passed along
The line of shrivelled beggars, all his soul was
moved
Within him to sweet pity, and the tears welled up
And trembled in his eyes.
Now by the temple gate

1347

There lay a poor, sore creature, blind, and
shunned by all;
But when the peasant came, and saw the
sightless face
And trembling, maimed hands, he could not
pass but knelt,
And took both palms in his, and softly said:
'O thou,
My brother! bear thy trouble bravely. God is
good.
Then he arose and walked straightway across
the court,
And entered where they wrangled of their deeds
of love
Before the priests. A while he listened sadly; then
Had turned away; but something moved the
priest who held
The plate of gold to beckon to the peasant. So
He came, not understanding, and obeyed, and
stretched
His hand and took the sacred vessel, Lo! it
Shone
With thrice its former lustre, and amazed them
all!
'Son' cried the priest, 'rejoice. The gift of
God is thine.

1348

Thou lovest best!' And all made answer,
'It is well,'
And, one by one, departed. But the peasant
knelt
And prayed, bowing his head above the golden
plate;
While o'er his soul like morning streamed the
love of God.

NOTES

Leigh Hunt (1784—1859) was a well known critic and essayist. Most of his poems contain a moral. The well known ones are *Abu Ben Adhem, Jaffar,* and *The Plate of Gold.* The central idea of '*The Plate of Gold* is that Heaven rewards those who do deeds of kindness without expecting earthly rewards.

writ—written.
adjudged—decided.
solemn council—a meeting of learned men.
claimant—a person who demands something as a right.
basest—valueless.
aghast—surprised.
hapless—unlucky.
to *pay a vow*—to fulfil a solemn promise made to God.
shrivelled—dried up and wrinkled.
shunned—avoided.
maimed—disabled.
wrangled—quarrelled over.
lustre—brightness.

1349

EXERCISES

A. 1. What had been written on the Plate of Gold?
2. Who according to the priests, were the rightful claimants to it?
3. Who did receive it finally?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*
1. To him who loveth best, a gift from heaven.
2. O! thou,
My brother! bear thy trouble bravely, God is good.

1350

LESSON 22

A Psalm of Life

(H. W. LONGFELLOW)

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
  Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
  And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
  And the grave is not its goal;
"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"
  Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
  Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each to-morrow
  Find us farther than to-day.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting.
  And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
  Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
  In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
  Be a hero in the strife!

1351

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant!
Let the dead Past bury its dead!
Act,—act in the living Present!
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Foot prints on the sands of time.

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother.
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

NOTES.

H. W. Longefellow (1807—1882), was a wellknown American poet. A tireless writer, he has left several long narrative poems dealing with American history. He wrote many poems specially for his daughters and many others for the enjoyment of children so that he has been described, aptly, as 'the children's poet'. His poems are, in general, simple, romantic and are marked by a moral tone. His chief works are *Hiawatha*,

The Indian Boy, The Courtship of Miles Standish, The Early American Hero of Colonial Days and *Evangeline, A Psalm of Life* is a poem which stirs up young people in all walks of life to strive after great things.

psalm—devotional song.
mournful numbers—sorrowful verses.
empty—meaningless.
slumbers—is inactive.
Dust thou art....soul—a Biblical reference (Book of Genesis), according to which after death man returns to dust from which he was created, and the soul does not perish.
fleeting—passing quickly.
muffled—covered up (to make the sound dull).
bivouac—open air camp.
strife—struggle.
sublime—noble.
solemn main—gloomy ocean.
forlorn—quite lost.
take heart—be encouraged.
still—always.

EXERCISES

A. 1. Why does the poet not belive that life is an 'empty' dream?
2. What is the image which the poet uses in stanza 5, to describe this world? How can every man make himself a hero in life.?
3. How can the lives of great men help us?
4. What according to the poet is the correct approach to life?

1353

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. Art is long, and Time is fleeting.
2. "Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"
   Was not spoken of the soul.
3. Lives of great men all remind us
   We can make our lives sublime.
4. And, departing, leave behind us
   Footprints on the sands of time.

1354

LESSON 23

COROMANDEL FISHERS

(SAROJINI NAIDU)

Rise, brothers, rise, the wakening skies
Pray to the morning light,
The wind lies asleep in the arms of the
dawn like a child that has cried all night.
Come, let us gather our nets from the shore,
and set our catamarans free,
To capture the leaping wealth of the tide,
for we are the sons of the sea.

No longer delay, let us hasten away in the
track of the sea-gull's call;
The sea is our mother, the cloud is our
brother, the waves are our comrades all
What though we toss at the fall of the sun
where the hand of the sea-god drives?
He who holds the storm by the hair, will
hide in his breast our lives.

Sweet is the shade of the cocoanut glade,
and the scent of the mango grove,
And sweet are the sands at the full o'
the moon with the sound of the voices we love.

1355

But sweeter, O brothers, the kiss of the spray
and the dance of the wild foam's glee:
Row, brothers, row to the blue of the verge,
where the low sky mates with the sea.

NOTES

This poem is by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (1879—1949), a poetess and patriot. She is popularly known as "The Nightingale of India". After a brilliant school career both in India and England, she joined the struggle for the country's freedom and had the honour of being elected the President of the Indian National Congress in 1925. She was the Governor of U. P., the first woman to be appointed the Governor of a State in free India.

Her poems are noted for their music and melody. They are truly Indian in spirit. They are published in four volumes.—'The Bird of time', 'The Broken Wing', 'The Golden Threshold' and 'The Sceptred Flute'. 'The Coromandel Fishers' gives a vivid picture of a day of the Coromandel fishermen.

Coromandel—Estern sea-coast of the Madras State.

catamarans— (Tamil–Kattu-bound: Maram-wood) logs of wood bound together as rafts.

set free—set afloat.

leaping wealth of the tide—the fish that leap about in the ocean.

see-gull—a strong winged, web-footed sea bird.

glade—open space in a grove.

verge—horizon.

mates—unites.

1356

Exercises

A. *Answer briefly :—*

1. What does the fisherman urge his friends to do?
2. When does he do so?
3. How does he encourage them to hasten to the sea?
4. What dangers do the fishermen have to face?
5. Why are they not afraid of them?
6. What are the attractions the fisherman has on the shore?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. He who holds the storm by the hair, will hide in his breast our lives.
2. But sweeter, O brothers, the kiss of the spray, and the dance of wild foam's glee.

C. *Name the figures of speech in the following :—*

1. The wind lies asleep in the arms of the dawn like a child that has cried all night.
2. The sea is our mother, the cloud is our brother and the waves our comrades all.

D. Read the poem 'Sea Fever' by John Masefield.

LESSON 24

An Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog

(OLIVER GOLDSMITH)

Good people all, of every sort
  Give ear unto my song;
And if you find it wondrous short,
  It cannot hold you long.

In Islington there was a man,
  Of whom the world might say,
That still a godly race he ran
  Whene'er he went to pray.

A kind and gentle heart he had,
  To comfort friends and foes;
The naked every day he clad,
  When he put on his clothes,

And in that town a dog was found,
  As many dogs there be,
Both mongrel, puppy, whelp and hound,
  And curs of low degree.

This dog and man at first were friends;
  But when a pique began,
The dog, to gain his private ends,
  Went mad, and bit the man.

1358

Around from all the neighbouring streets
The wondering neighbours ran,
And swore the dog has lost his wits,
To bite so good a man.

The wound it seem'd both sore and sad
To every Christian eye:
And while they swore the dog was mad,
They swore the man would die.

But soon a wonder came to light,
That show'd the rogues they lied
The man recover'd of the bite,
The dog it was that died.

NOTES

Oliver Goldsmith (1728—1774) was a poet, essayist, dramatist and novelist of the 18th century. His style is easy and graceful, his humour wholesome and gentle. His writings in every literary form well justify Dr. Jhonson's remark that he touched nothing he did not adorn.

This poem is full of humour. It is put through the mouth of Bill, a young boy, one of the characters in the "The Vicar of Wakefield".

elegy—a poem or song of mourning especially for the dead.

wondrous short—wonderfully short; very short.

Islington—a town near London.

a godly race he ran—he led a pious life.

clad—clothed.

1359

mongrel—dog of a mixed breed.
puppy—lap-dog; toy dog.
whelp—a young dog.
hound—a hunting dog.
cur—a worthless dog.
degree—breed.
pique—ill feeling.
private ends—own purpose.
swore—said loudly.
wits—senses.
sore and sad—painful and serious.
came to light—became clear.

A. Tell the story of the death of the mad dog.

B. Mark the best answer from those given below:—

1. The naked every day he clad.
   When he put on his clothes.
   These lines prove that,
   i. he was very kind to the poor clotheless people.
   ii. he did his charitable duties promptly.
   iii. he cared only for himself.

2. The wondering neighbours ran,
   And swore the dog had lost his wits,
   To bite so good a man.
   In this remark there is note of
   i. humour.
   ii. irony.
   iii. pathos.

3. The man recovered of the bite,
   The dog it was that died.
   The death of the dog proves that
   i. The man was more poisonous than the dog.

1360

ii. dogs that go mad never recover.
iii. the man's injury was not fatal.

C. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

i. That still a godly race he ran
Whene'er he went to pray.

ii. The naked every day he clad,
When he put on his clothes.

iii. But soon a wonder came to light,
That showed the rogues they lied.

D. Read 'The Village Schoolmaster' from Goldsmith,s "Deserted Village".

LESSON 25

THE PATRIOT

(SIR WALTER SCOTT)

Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
'This is my own, my native land!'
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no Minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, Proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung.

NOTES

Sri Walter Scott (1771—1882), has immortalised the wild picturesque landscape, romantic history and brave clansmen of Scotland in a series of novels and poems. His important works which mainly deal with historical themes are, *Waverly*, *Kennilworth*, *Talisman*, *Old Mortality*, *Guy Mannering*, and a long poem, *Marmion*.

1362

Patriotism is an extract from *The Lay of Last Minstrel.* Scott who loved his motherland so well says that the person who does not love his country is the most despised of all men.

breathes—lives.
burned—felt excited.
strand—shore.
no minstrel raptures swell—no poet would sing about him.
pelf—riches.
wretch—mean person.
concentred all in self—being very selfish.
forfeit fair renown—lose his good name.
doubly dying—to die and be forgotten.
vile—worthless.

Exercises

A. 1. In what ways is a great patriot rewarded?
2. What is the attitude of his fellow contrymen towards an unpatriotic person?
3. Point out the words and phrases used in the poem to describe an unpatriotic person.
4. Suggest alternative titles for the extract.

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*
1. For him no Minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name.
2. Living, shall forfeit fair renown
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung.

1363

LESSON 26

THE HIGHWAYMAN

(ALFRED NOYES)

PART I

The wind was a torrent of darkness among
the gusty trees,
The moon was a ghostly galleon tossed upon
cloudy seas,
The road was a ribbon of moonlight over the
purple moor,
And the highwayman came riding——
Riding——riding——
The highwayman came riding, up to the old
inn-door.

He'd a French cocked-hat on his forehead,
bunch of lace at his chin,
A coat of the claret velvet, and breeches of
brown doeskin:
They fitted with never a wrinkle; his boots were
upto to the thigh;
And he rode with a jewelled twinkle.
His pistol butts a-twinkle,
His rapier hilt a-twinkle, under the jewelled sky.

Over the cobbles he clattered and clashed in the
dark inn-yard,
And he tapped with his whip on the shutters,
but all was locked and barred;
He whistled a tune to the window, and who
should be waiting there
But the landlords' black-eyed daughter,
Bess, the landlord's daughter,
Plaiting a dark red love-knot into her long black
hair.

And dark in the dark old inn-yard a stable-
wicket creaked,
Where Tim the ostler listened: his face was
white and peaked;
His eyes were hollows of madness, his hair like
mouldy hay;
But he loved the landlord's daughter,
The landlord's red-lipped daughter,
Dumb as a dog he listened, and he heard the
robber say——
'One kiss, my bonny sweetheart, I'm after a
prize tonight,
But I shall be back with the yellow gold before
the morning light;
Yet, if they press me sharply, and harry me
through the day,

1365

Then look for me by moonlight,
Watch for me by moonlight,
I'll come to thee by moonlight, though hell
should bar the way."

He rose upright in the stirrups; he scarce could
reach her hand,
But she loosened her hair i' the casement. His
face burnt like a brand
As the black cascade of perfume came tumbling
over his breast;
And he kissed its waves in the moonlight,
(Oh, sweet black waves in the moonlight);
Then he tugged at his rein in the moonlight, and
galloped away to the west.
He did not come in the dawning; he did not
come at noon;
And out of the tawny sunset, before the rise
of the moon,
When the road was a gypsy's ribbon, looping
the purple moor,
A red-coat troop marching-marching-marching-
King George's men came marching, up to
the old inn-door.
They said no word to the landlord, they drank
his ale instead.

1366

But they gagged his daughter and bound her
to the foot of her norrow bed;
Two of them knelt at the casement, with
muskets at their side.
There was death at every window, and hell at
one dark window;
For Bess could see, through her casement, the
road that he would ride.

They had tied her up to attention, with many a
sniggering jest;
They had bound a musket beside her, with the
barrel beneath her breast.
'Now keep good watch!' and they kissed her.
She heard the dead man say—
'Look for me by Moonlight; Watch for me by
Moonlight; I'll come to thee by Moonlight,
Though hell should bar the way!'
She twisted the hands behind her; but all the
knots held good!
She writhed her hands till her fingers were wet
with sweat or blood!
They stretched and strained in the darkness,
and the hours crawled by like years,
Till, now-on the stroke of midnight, cold on
the stroke of midnight,

1367

The tip, of one finger touched it! The trigger
at last was hers!
The tip of one finger touhed it; she strove
no more for the rest!
Up, she stood up to attention, with the barrel
beneath her breast,
She would not risk their hearing; she would
not strive again;
For the road lay bare in the moonlight;
Blank and bare in the moonlight;
And the blood of her veins, in the moonlight,
throbbed to her love's refrain.

Tlot-Tlot, Tlot- Tlot! Had they heard it? The
horse hoofs ringing clear;
Tlot-Tlot- Tlot- Tlot, in the distance? were they
deaf that they did not hear?
Down the ribbon of moonlight, over the brow of
the hill,
The highwayman came riding,
Riding, riding.
The red-coats looked to their priming.
She stood up, straight and still.
Tlot-Tlot, in the frosty silence! *Tlot-Tlot.* in the
echoing night!
Nearer he came and nearer.
Her face was like a light.

1368

Her eyes grew wide for a moment;
she drew one last deep breath.
Then her finger moved in the moonlight,
Her musket shattered the moonlight,
Shattered her breast in the moonlight and warned
him—with her death.
He turned; he spurred to the west; he did
not know who stood
Bowed, with her head o'er the musket,
drenched with her own red blood!
Not till the dawn he heard it,
and his face grew grey to hear
How Bess, the landlord's daughter,
The landlord's black-eyed daughter,
Had watched for her love in the moonlight, and
died in the darkness there.
Back, he spurred like a madman, shouting a
curse to the sky,
With the white road smoking behind him and his
rapier brandished high.
Blood-were his spurs i' the golden noon;
wine-red was his velvet coat;
When they shot him down on the highway,
Down like a dog on the highway,
And he lay in his blood on the highway, with a
bunch of lace at his throat.

1369

And still of a winter's night, they say, when
the wind is in the trees,
When the moon is a ghostly galleon tossed
upon cloudy seas,
When the road is a ribbon of moonlight over
the purple moor,
A highwayman comes riding—
Riding—riding,
A highwayman comes riding, up the old inn-door.
Over the cobbles he clatters and clangs in the
dark inn-yard.
He taps with his whip on the shutters, but all is
locked and barred;
He whistles a tune to the window, and who
should be waiting there
But the landlords's black-eyed daughter,
Bess the landlord's daughter,
Plaiting a dark red love-knot into her long
black hair.

NOTES

Alfred Noyes (1880—1958) is a modern English poet. He established his reputation as a poet of the sea, by writing his "Forty Singing Seamen" and by his epic poem on the Adventure of Francis Drake. The poem 'The Highwayman' illustrates some of the qualities of his poetry, namely, love of freedom, adventure, lawless heroism and romantic love.

1370

highwayman—a robber who attacks people on the public way.
galleon—a large Spanish ship.
cocked hat—an old fashioned three cornered hat.
cobbles—road paved with smooth round stones.
peaked—face with pointed beard.
prize—something worth trying for.
press me sharply—oppress me.
harry—harass.
tawny—of orange-brown colour.
looping—encircling.
red-coat—King's soldiers wearing red coats.
casement—window
gagged—thrust something into mouth to prevent speech.
sniggering—indecent.
muzzle—open end of a fire-arm.
writhed—twisted in acute pain.
looked to their priming—were getting fire-arms ready with gun-powder to charge.
drenched—made wet.
rapier—light slender sword for thrusting.
brandished—waved about.
blanched—grew pale with fear.

Exercises

A. 1. Give in your own words a description of the Highwayman.
2. Describe the meeting between the Highwayman and Bess.
3. How did the red-coats treat Bess?

13-71

4. How did Bess warn the Highwayman of the presence of the red-coats?
5. Describe how the Highwayman charged upon the red-coats.

B. Give the meanings of the following in your own words:—

1. The road was a ribbon of moonlight over the purple moor.
2. Plaiting a dark red love-knot into her long black hair.
3. As the black cascade of perfume came tumbling over his breast.
4. And the blood of her veins in the moonlight throbbed to her love's refrain.
5. Blood-red were his spurs in the golden moon;

C. Which is the most exciting incident in the poem, and why?

1372

LESSON 27

THE DAFFODILS

(WILLIAM WORDSWORTH)

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretch in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.
The waves beside them danced; but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A poet could not but be gay,
In such a jocund company:
I gazed and gazed but little thought
What wealth the show to me had brought:

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon the inward eye

1373

Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.

Notes

William Wordsworth (1770—1850) was the son of an attorney. He studied at St. John's College in the Cambridge University. He is well known as a poet of nature. The poem "The Daffodils" is a fine example of this love of nature. "For Wordsworth Nature is not merely a source of beauty and joy but a source of comfort in distress."

fluttering—moving to and fro.
milky way—a path of light made by countless stars across the sky.
sprightly—lively and gay.
glee—joy.
jocund—merry.
pensive—thoughtful.
bliss of solitude—joy of being lonely.

Exercises

A. 1. What is Wordsworth's description of the Daffodils?
2. What influence had they on the poet both then and afterwards?
3. Point out the similies in the poem.

1374

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. "Continuous as the stars they shine".
2. "A poet could not, but be gay in such a jocund company".
3. They flash upon that inward eye
   Which is the bliss of solitude.

1375

LESSON 28

The Character of a Happy Life

(SIR HENRY WOTTON)

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will;
Whose armour is his honest thought;
And simple truth his utmost skill:

Whose passions not his masters are;
Whose soul is still prepared for death,
Untied unto the world by care
Of public fame, or private breath;

Who envies none that chance doth raise,
Or vice; who never understood
How deepest wounds are given by praise;
Nor rules of state, but rules of good;

Who hath his life from rumours freed;
Whose conscience is his strong retreat,
Whose state can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruin make oppressors great;

Who God doth late and early pray
More of his grace than gifts to lend;
and entertains the harmless day
With a well-chosen book or friend.

1376

This man is free from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall,
Lord of himself, though not of lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

NOTES

Sir Henry Wotton (1568—1639) was a statesman and writer. "Wotton had seen many examples of the insecurity and torments of a life of ambition, of high estate, or of dependence upon even a sovereign". All these do not make a man happy, in his view. His idea of a happy life is very different. It is more spiritual and depends on character, and not on circumstances; it is internal, not external.

born and taught—by birth and education.
serveth—works for.
will—command.
passions—strong desires.
still—always.
not tied unto the world with care of—unattached to the world by a desire for.
private breath—slander.
chance—luck.
vice—a bad trick.
who never understood.....praise—who is not a victim of flattery.
nor rules of state, but rules of good—His conduct is governed by principles of morality and not by those of state craft.
rumours—baseless news.

retreat—shelter.
state—position.
feed—encourage..
grace—divine favour.
gifts—earthly benefits.
entertains—passes agreeably.
servile—slavish.
bands—fetters.

Exercises

A. *Answer the following questions :—*

1. What is the armour of the happy man in the battle of life?
2. What are the human failings that he is free from?
3. What does he pray for?
4. How does such a man spend his time?
5. What bonds is he free from?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. Not tied unto the world with care
   Of public fame, or private breath.
2. Who envies none that chance doth raise nor vice.
3. Lord of himself, though not of lands,
   And having nothing yet hath all.

C. *Name and explain the figures of speech in the following :—*

1. Whose armour is his honest thought.
2. Whose conscience is his strong retreat.
3. And entertains the harmless day
   With a well chosen book or friend.
4. And having nothing, yet hath all.

1378

LESSON 29

THE TOYS

(C. PATMORE)

My little Son, who look'd from thoughtful eyes
And moved and spoke in quiet grown-up wise,
Having my law the seventh time disobey'd
  I struck him, and dismiss'd
  With hard words and unkiss'd,
—His Mother, Who was patient, being dead.
Then, fearing lest his grief should hinder sleep,
  I visited his bed,
  But found him slumbering deep,
With darken'd eyelids, and their lashes yet
  From his late sobbing wet.
    And I, with moan,
Kissing away his tears, left others of my own;
For, on a table drawn beside his head,
  He had put, within his reach,
A box of counters and a red-vein'd stone,
A piece of glass abraded by the beach,
  And six or seven shells,
  A bottle with bluebells,
And two French copper coins, ranged there with careful art,
  To comfort his sad heart.

1379

So when that night I pray'd
To God, I wept, and said :
Ah, when at last we lie with tranced breath,
Not vexing Thee in death,
And Thou rememberest of what toys
We made our joys,
How weakly understood
Thy great commanded good,
Then, fatherly not less
Then I whom Thou hast moulded from the clay,
Thou'lt leave Thy wrath, and say,
'I will be sorry for their childishness'.

NOTES

Coventry Patmore (1823—1896) is one of the greatest religious poets of modern times. He recognises the bond of love between man and God. His odes constitute his best work. His important works are : *The Unknown Eros, Amelia* and *The angel in the House.* In *The Toys*, the poet drives home the valuable lesson that since man expects to be forgiven by God, he should also have the quality of forgiveness in him.

wise—way.
law—order.
hard words—harsh words.
hinder—prevent.
slumbering—sleeping soundly.
late—recent.

1380

counters—small discs used in games for keeping the score.
red-veined stone—stone with red lines.
abraded—worn smooth.
bluebells—blue bell-shaped flowers.
ranged—arranged.
tranced—suspended.
vexing—offending.
weakly - imperfectly.
commanded good—commandments meant for our good
moulded from the clay—(a Biblical reference)—man is supposed to have been made out of dust.
wrath—great anger.

EXERCISES

A. 1. Why did the father punish his son?
2. What was the punishment?
3. What did the father see when he visited his son's bed-room?
4. Why was he moved?
5. Make a list of the toys arranged by the boy.
6. Point out the lines in the poem which show that grown up men also have their toys.
7. What was the father's prayer to God?
8. With whom is the father compared? Why should a father forgive his children?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*
1. And I, with moan,
Kissing away his tears, left others of my own.
2. 'I will be sorry for their childishness'.

LESSON 30

VIII. Tubal Cain

(C. MACKAY)

I

Old Tubal Cain was a man of might
  In the days when earth was young;
By the fierce red light of his furnace bright
  The strokes of his hammer rung;
  And he lifted high his brawny hand
  On the iron glowing clear,
Till the sparks rushed out in scarlet showers
  As he fashioned the sword and spear.
And he sang: "Hurra for my handiwork!
  Hurrah for the Spear and Sword!
Hurra for the hand that shall wield them well,
  For he shall be king and lord!"

II

To Tubal Cain came many a one,
  As he wrought by his roaring fire,
And each one prayed for a strong steel blade
  As the crown of his desire;
And he made them weapons sharp and strong
  Till they shouted loud for glee
And gave him gift of pearl and gold,
  And spoils of the forest free.

1382

And they sang; "Hurra for Tubal Cain,
Who hath given us strength anew!
Hurra for the smith, hurra for the fire,
And hurra for the metal true!"

III

But a sudden change came o'er his heart
Ere the setting of the sun,
And Tubal Cain was filled with pain
For the evil he had done;
He saw that men, with rage and hate,
Made war upon their kind;
That the land was red with the blood they shed
In their lust for carnage blind.
And he said; "Alas! that ever I made,
Or that skill of mine should plan,
The spear and the sword for men whose joy
Is to slay their fellow man!"

IV

And for many a day old Tubal Cain
Sat brooding o'er his woe;
And his hand forbore to smite the ore,
And his furnace smouldered low.
But he rose at last with a cheerful face,
And a bright courageous eye,
And bared his strong right arm for work,
While the quick flames mounted high.

1383

And he sang: "Hurra for my handiwork!"
And the red sparks lit the air;
"Not alone for the blade was the bright steel made;"
And he fashioned the First Ploughshare!

V

And men, taught wisdom from the Past,
In friendship joined their hands,
Hung the sword in the hall, the spear on the wall,
And ploughed the willing lands;
And sang: "Hurra for Tuble Cain!
Our staunch good friend is he;
And for the ploughshare and the plough
To him our praise shall be;
But while Oppression lifts its head,
Or a tyrant would be lord,
Though we may thank him for the Plough,
We'll not forget the Sword!"

NOTES

Charles Mackay (1814—1899) has written many interesting poems. Some of them are: *The Miller of of the Dee*, *Sympathy* and *There's a Good Time Coming Boys.* He was a writer of newspaper articles and of short narrative and reflective poems.

This thought-provoking poem makes clear why an inventor should think first of the use to which his invention may be put.

1384

Stanza 1. Tubal Cain was a mighty blacksmith who made swords and spears in the early days of man. He was proud of the weapons he made, for those who used them well would rule over others:

a man of might—a man of great strength.
brawny—muscular.
sparks rushed out in scarlet showers—red sparks flew in large numbers.
fashioned—shaped.
hurra—expression of joy or approval.
wield—hold and use.

Stanza 2. Many people came to Tubal Cain with a request for weapons. They were delighted with the strong and sharp weapons and gave him costly gifts. They praised the weapons and the smith who gave them additional power.

many a one—many people.
wrought—worked.
crown of his desire—what he desired most.
glee—joy.
spoils—things taken by violence.

Stanza 3. In a short time Tubal Cain lost his joy when he saw men using weapons to kill their fellowmen. He felt sorry for having fashioned the weapons for those who enjoyed killing their brothers.

made war—fought.

lust for carnage blind; *in their blind lust for carnage*—in their unreasonable desire for blood shed.

Alas !—I am sorry.

Stanza 4. For many days Tubal Cain sat meditating on what had happened. He stopped working. He became cheerful again when he had hit upon a plan. He made ploughshares instead of swords and spears.

brooding—meditating.

woe—bitter grief.

forbore—stopped.

smouldered—burnt without flame.

not alone for the blade was the bright steel made—steel can be used to make other things also.

ploughshare—blade of the plough.

Stanza 5. Bitter experience made people wise. They gave up fighting and cultivated lands. They praised Tubal Cain as their good friend because he gave them the ploughshare. Though they were grateful to him for the plough, they would not give up the sword entirely. They would use it against people who were cruel and unjust.

staunch—loyal.

oppression—harsh treatment or injustice.

tyrant – cruel king or master.

1386

Exercises

A

1. What were the things that Tubal Cain first made?
   Why was he proud of them?
   How did the people who got them show their appreciation?
2. What was the effect of people's 'blind lust for carnage' on Tubal Cain? What made him cheerful again? Why did the people praise him as a staunch friend?

B

Explain with reference to the context:—

1. Hurra for the hand that shall wield them well,
   For he shall be king and lord!
2. Not alone for the blade was the bright steel made.
3. Though we thank him for the plough we will not forget the sword.

C

Name the figures of speech in the following:—

1. And each one prayed for a strong steel blade.
2. The land was red with the blood they shed.
3. And ploughed the willing lands.
4. But while oppression lifts its head.

LSSON 31

ULYSSES

(TENNYSON)

It little profits that an idle king,
By the still hearth, among these barren crags,
Match'd with an aged wife, I mete and dole
Unequal laws unto a savage race,
That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know not me.
I cannot rest from travel: I will drink
Life to the lees: all times I have enjoy'd
Greatly, have suffer'd greatly, both with those
That loved me, and alone; on shore, and when
Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades
Vext the dim sea: I am become a name;
For always roaming with a hungry heart
Much have I seen and known; cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, But honour'd of them all;
And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.
I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move

1388

How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!
As tho' to breathe were life. Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me.
Little remains: but every hour is saved
From that eternal silence, something more,
A bringer of new things; and vile it were
For some three suns to store and hoard myself,
And this grey spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.
This is my son, mine own Telemachus,
To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle—
Well-loved of me, discerning to fulfil
This labour, by slow prudence to make mild
A rugged people, and thro' soft degrees
Subdue them to the useful and the good.
Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
Of common duties, decent not to fail
In offices of tenderness, and pay
Meet adoration to my household gods,
When I am gone. He works his work, I mine.
There lies the port: the vessel puffs her sail
There gloom the dark broad seas. My mariners,
Souls that have toil'd and wrought, and thought with me—
That ever with a frolic welcome took

The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads—you and I are old;
Old age hath yet his honour and his toil;
Death closes all: but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.
The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks:
The long day wanes: the slow moon climbs: the deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew,
Tho' much is taken, much abides; and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearth,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

1390

Notes

Lord Alfred Tennyson (1809—1892), was a great Victorian poet. He was also poet laureate. He was a great artist in words and his poems display among other gifts, his sense of music, colour, love of nature and a lyrical element. Some of his important poems are, *The Idylls of the King, The Princess, In Memoriam, Ulysses* and *The Lotus-Eaters.*

Homer in his *Odyssey* describes the adventures of Ulysses, one of the heroes who had assembled at Troy, and his return after an absence of thirty years to his native island home, Ithaca. After reaching home, Ulysses is not content to settle down to his day-to-day work on the small island, looking after his semi-civilised subjects. Tennyson in this dramatic monologue describes Ulysses preparing to adventure forth in search of more experience and more knowledge. Ulysses as Tennyson represents him, is more than a mythical hero—he stands for an ideal, the ideal of striving all the time after better and higher things.

still hearth—quiet home.

crags—rough steep rocks.

match'd to—married to.

wife—Penelope.

mete and dole—give.

unequal laws unto a savage race—laws not suited for uncivilised people.

to the lees—to the last drop.

scudding drifts—currents or huge waves.

rainy Hyades—a group of seven stars believed according to Greek legend, to be seven nymphs. The

ancient world believed that rain and storms depended on the rising and setting of these stars.

vext—disturbed.

dim—deep.

I am...name—I have become famous.

peers—equals.

Troy—ancient city in Asia Minor which was besieged by the Greeks for 10 years.

wherethro'—through which.

gleams—shines.

margin—horizon.

pause—stop.

that eternal silence—dea

vile—very bad.

three suns—three years.

sinking star—according to the Greeks the stars sank in the west.

yearning in desire—having a great desire.

bound—limit.

sceptre—the staff borne by kings as an emblem of authority, or royal power.

isle—island.

discerning—knowing how.

by slow prudence—by being wise and cautious.

rugged—rough and rude.

subdue them—tame them.

centred—engrossed.

offices—duties.

meet—proper.

adoration—worship.

puffs—swells up.

1399

wrought—worked hard.
frolic—joyous.
hath—has
ere—before.
unbecoming—unworthy of.
wanes—fades.
the deep moans—the sea makes a low murmuring sound.
smite the sounding furrows—battle with the furious waves.
the baths—the places where the stars were supposed to sink.
the gulfs—the abyss supposed to be at the edge of the world.
the Happy Isles—the Greeks believed that after death the favourites of the gods were conveyed to islands somewhere in the Western ocean.
Achilles—one of the greatest Greek heroes in the Trojan war.
abides—remains.
one equal temper—of the same temperament.

Exercises

A. 1. Why does Ulysses not want to rest after his many years of wanderings, and though he is old?
2. Why is Ulysses dissatisfied with his island home?
3. Ulysses and Telemachus are two different types. Bring out the differences between the two.
4. What is the central idea of the poem?

1393

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. Yet all experience is an arch wherethro
   Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
   For ever and for ever when I move.
2. He works his work, I mine.
3. .....but something ere the end,
   some work of noble note, may yet be done,
   Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.
4. ... ... and tho'
   We are not now that strength which in old days
   Moved earth and heaven: that which we are, we are.

1394

LESSON 32

YUSSOUF

(JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL)

A stranger came one night to Yussouf's tent,
Saying, "Behold one outcast and in dread,
Against whose life the bow of power is bent,
Who flies, and hath not where to lay his head;
I come to thee for shelter and for food,
To Yussouf, called through all our tribes
'The Good'."

"This tent is mine," said Yussouf, "but no more
Than it is God's; come in, and be at peace;
Freely shalt thou partake of all my store,
As I of His who buildeth over these
Our tents His glorious roof of night and day,
And at whose door none ever yet heard 'Nay'."

So Yussouf entertained his guest that night,
And, waking him ere day, said: "Here is gold;
My swiftest horse is saddled for thy flight;
Depart before the prying day grow bold."
As one lamp lights another, nor grows less,
So nobleness enkindleth nobleness:

1395

That inward light the stranger's face made grand,
Which shines from all self-conquest;
Kneeling low,
He bowed his forehead upon Yussouf's hand,
Sobbing: "O Sheikh, I cannot leave thee so;
I will repay thee; all this thou hast done
Unto that Ibrahim who slew thy son!"

"Take thrice the gold," said Yussouf, "for with thee
Into the desert, never to return,
My one black thought shall ride away from me.
First-born! for whom by day and night I yearn,
Balanced and just are all of God's decrees;
Thou art avenged, my first-born, sleep in peace!"

NOTES.

This beautiful poem is by James Russell Lowell (1814—1891), an American poet, critic, and journalist.

Lowell has written some of the finest pieces in American literature. '*The Present Crisis*', '*Dara*', '*A Legend of Brittany*', '*The Singing Leaves*', '*Mohamud*', '*The Vision of Sir Launfal*', '*The Fatherland*', and '*Yussouf*' are some of his most popular poems. He is a poet of rare charm and possesses the gift of stirring one's deepest emotions.

The poem 'Yussouf' teaches the noble lesson that forgiveness is the noblest revenge.

1396

Yussouf—the Chief of an Arab tribe.
behold—look.
outcast—one driven out of his home or society.
dread—great fear.
against whose life the bow of power is bent—whom the powerful enemy has determined to kill.
hath not where to lay his head—has no place to take shelter.
partake—share.
store—provision.
entertained—treated hospitably.
ere—before.
prying—spying.
enkindleth—rouses.
black thought—revenge.
yearn—long for.
thou art avenged—vengeance is taken for your death.
decrees—laws.

Exercises

A. *Answer the following questions :—*
1. Why did the stranger come to Yussouf's tent?
2. How did Yussouf receive him?
3. Why did Yussouf ask the stranger to go away before day break?
4. How did Ibrahim repay the Sheik's kindness?
5. How did Yussouf avenge the murder of his son?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*
1. This tent is mine but no more than it is God's.
2. As one lamp lights another,
   So doth nobleness enkindleth nobleness.

3. That inward light the stranger's face made grand,
   Which shines from all self-conquest.
4. Thou art avenged, my first-born, sleep in peace!

C. *Tell the story of Youssouf as is narrated by* (a) the stranger (b) Yussouf.

D. *Point out the figures of speech in the following :—*

i. The bow of power is bent.
ii. Depart before the prying day grows bold.
iii. As one lamp.....nobleness.

LESSON 33

THE SOLDIER

(GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS)

What shall I do for the land that bred me,
Her homes and fields that folded and fed me?
Be under her banner and live for her honour:
Under her banner I'll live for her honour.
Chorus. Under her banner, Live for her honour.

Not the pleasure, the pay, the plunder,
But country and flag, the flag I am under
There is the shilling that finds me willing
To follow a banner and fight for her honour.
Chorus. Under her banner, we fight for her honour.

Call me England's fame's fond lover,
Her fame to keep, her fame to recover.
Spend me or end me what God shall send me,
But under her banner, I live for her honour.
Chorus. Under her banner, we march for her honour.

Where is the field I must play the man on?
O welcome there their steel or cannon.
Immortal beauty is death with duty,
If under her banner I fall for her honour.
Chorus. Under her banner, we fall for her honour.

1399

Notes

Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) was an English poet. His collected poems were first published in 1918 by Robert Bridges. His innovations in metre and rhythm, his sensitive use of language and the depth and passion of his religious convictions, made a great impact on the young poets of the time.

"The Wreck of the Deutschland" is one of his best known works.

The poem "The Soldier" expresses a soldier's desire to serve his country and his intense devotion to it. It is like a song sung by the leader of an army, with the rest following him.

that folded and fed me—that protected me and helped me grow up.

England's fame's fond lover—one who loves the good name of England.

keep—guard.

spend me—use my services fully.

play the man—where I can distinguish myself as a soldier

steel—sword.

immortal beauty is death with duty—to die doing one's duty is to attain immortality.

A. *Answer the following questions :—*

1. What does the soldier want to do for his country ?
2. What makes the soldier fight for it ?
3. What is immortal beauty according to the poet ?

B. *From the following, choose the best that would go as an alternative title to the poem :—*

1400

1. A Soldier's Devotion; 2. Country's Call; 3. Patriotism; 4. Under the Country's Banner; 5. For the Country's Honour.

C. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. Spend me or end me what God shall send me,
   But under her banner, I live for her honour.
2. There is the shilling that finds me willing.

LESSON 34

The Village Preacher

(OLIVER GOLDSMITH)

Near yonder copse, where once the garden smiled,
And still where many a garden flower grows wild;
There, where a few torn shrubs the place disclose,
The village preacher's modest mansion rose.
A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year;
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change his place;
Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise.
His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain;
The long-remembered beggar was his guest,
Whose beard descending swept his aged breast;
The ruined spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there, and had his claims allowe'd;
The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,

1409

Sat by his fire, and talked the night away;
Wept o'er his wounds, or, tales of sorrow done,
Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields were won.
Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.

Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings leaned to virtue's side;
But in his duty prompt at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.

Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain by turns dismayed,
The reverend champion stood. At his control,
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;
Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last faltering accents whispered praise,

1403

At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorned the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.
The service past, around the pious man,
With steady zeal, each honest rustic ran;
E'en children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown, to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distressed;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven.
As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread.
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

NOTES

This is taken from Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village". It is a description of the pastor of Sweet Auburn. Goldsmith seems to have taken as models for the village preacher of Auburn, his father, the Rev. Charles Goldsmith and his brother, the Rev. Henry Goldsmith.

copse—a wood of young trees.
disclose—lay open to view.
modest—humble.
mansion—house.
passing rich—quite rich.
remote—far away.
unpracticed he to fawn—He was not used to flattery or servile behaviour.
doctrines—principles of belief.
fashioned—suited.
far other—very different.
prize—value.
the wretched—the people in misery.
to rise—to improve his own condition.
vagrant train—the wandering beggars.
chid—scolded.
spendthrift—one who spends lavishly.
kindred—relationship by blood.
allowed—accepted.
broken—invalid or disabled.
bade—invited.
crutch—a staff for the lame person
careless—not caring.
scan—to examine closely.
failings—faults.
prompt—ready in action.
each fond endearment—every loving way.
new fledged Offspring—the young one which has just got its feathers.
art—means; device.
allured—tempted.

parting life—dying person.
dismayed—distressed.
anguish—excessive pain of the body or mind.
faltering accents—words spoken in an unsteady manner.
unaffected grace—simple dignity.
venerable—worthy of reverence.
prevailed with double sway—Truth from his lips was doubly effective.
scoff—ridicule; mock.
service past—after the religious worship was over.
zeal—enthusiasm.
rustic—villager.
endearing wile—pleasing trick.
plucked—pulled.
cares—troubles.
awful—awe inspiring.
swells—rises high.
vale—valley.
eternal—everlasting.

Exercises

A. *Answer each of the following in a sentence or two:—*

1. Where did the village preacher's house stand?
2. What was his income?
3. How could he have bettered his prospects?
4. What principles did he hold dear to his heart?
5. Who were the vagrants whom them pastor relieved?
6. What did the spendthrift do to be received in his house?

7. How did the soldier talk the night away?
8. 'His pity gave ere charity began'. Explain.
9. How did he teach the people to lead aspiritual life?
10. How did he conduct himself in the church?
11. How did he comfort the dying man?
12. Why was his sermon doubly impressive?
13. How did the rustics and the children behave with the pastor? Why did they do so?

B. *Point out and explain the similies occurring in the poem.*

C. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power,
   By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour.
2. Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
   More skill'd to raise the wretched than to rise.

D. *Read the following passages and answer the questions given below:—*

1. Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise,
   And his last faltering accents whispered praise.

a. From whom did the comfort come down?
b. With what object did it come?
c. Why was the 'wretch' trembling?
d. What effect did the comfort have?

2. Truth from his lips prevailed with double away,
   And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.

a. Over whom did truth prevail?
b. How did truth prevail with double away?
c. Why did the fools come?
d. What was the change that came over them?

LESSON 35

Say Not, The Struggle Naught Availeth

(A. H. Clough)

I

Say not, the struggle naught availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

II

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase even now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

III

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks, and inlets making;
Comes silent, flooding in, the main

IV

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly.
But westward, look, the land is bright.

Notes

Arthur Hugh Clough (1819—1861) was a great scholar. Some of his poems, are '*Mari Magno*', '*The Green Fields of England*', '*An Incident*' and '*Where Lies the Land*'.

This little poem teaches perseverance and hopefulness. "We are not lone workers in the world, but small units in the great army of mankind". Individually, we may not achieve much, but the world as a whole will benefit, however small our efforts are.

naught availeth—is of no use.
vain—in vain.
faints not—does not become weak.
faileth—retreats.
dupes—deceptions.
yon—that.
chase—pursue.
fliers—the fleeing foes.
possess the field—are victorious.
creek—a small bay.
inlet—a small bay or opening in the land.
making—advancing.
flooding in—overflowing.
main—the high sea.

Exercises

A. 1. What makes the soldier lose heart?
2. Why was he wrong in doing so?
3. What examples does the poet give to inspire the disheartened person?

14109

B. *Write answers to the following in one connected paragraph :—*

How do the waves break? What success do they meet with? What does the tide far back do? What do you think of your individual efforts in the struggle for progress? What should be the correct attitude in the matter?

C. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. And, but for you, possess the field,
2. But westward, look, the land is bright.

D. *Name the figures of speech in the following :—*

1. If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars.
2. The tired waves seem here no painful inch to gain.

1410

LESSON 36

THE SCHOLAR

(ROBERT SOUTHEY)

My days among the Dead are past;
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mightly minds of old:

My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.
With them I take delight in weal,
And seek relief in woe;

And while I understand and feel
How much to them I woe,
My cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.

My thoughts are with the Dead; with them
I live in long past years,
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears,

And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.
My hopes are with the Dead; anon
My place with them will be,
And I with them shall travel on
Through all Futurity;

Yet leaving here a name, I trust,
That will not perish in the dust.

NOTES

Robert Southey (1774—1843) was a prolific writer. His fame rests chiefly on some of his minor poems, of which, *The Inchcape Rock, After Blenheim* and *The Scholar*, are a few. In the poem, '*The Scholar*', he deals with the powerful influence the great books exerted on him.

dead—renowned writers of the past who are dead.
behold—see.
past—spent.
weal—prosperity.
woe—sorrow.
bedew'd—made wet.
partake—share in.
anon—soon.
with a humble mind—with an attitude of humility.
futurity—in future time.

EXERCISES

A. 1. How are the great writers of the past 'the never failing friends' of the poet?
2. What does that poet mean when he says, 'My hopes are with the dead'?

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*
1. My cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratiude.
2. And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.

LESSON 37

LAUGH AND BE MERRY

(JOHN MASEFIELD)

Laugh and be merry, remember, better the world with a song.
Better the world with a blow in the teeth of a wrong.
Laugh, for the time is brief, a thread the length of a span.
Laugh, and be proud to belong to the old proud pageant of man.
Laugh and be merry: remember in olden time,
God made Heaven and Earth for joy He took in a rhyme.
Made them, and filled them full with the strong red wine of His mirth,
The splendid joy of the stars; the joy of the earth.
So we must laugh and drink from the deep blue cup of the sky.
Join the jubilant song of the great stars sweeping by.
Laugh, and battle, and work, and drink of the wine outpoured
In the dear green earth, the sign of the joy of the Lord.

1413

Laugh and be merry together, like brothers akin,
Guesting a while in the rooms of a beautiful inn,
Glad till the dancing stops, and the lilt of the music ends.
Laugh till the game is played: and be you merry, my friends.

NOTES

John Masefield (1875–), succeeded Robert Bridges as Poet Laureate of England in 1930. He has attempted a variety of literary forms. Some of his important works are, *The Everlasting Mercy, Reynard the Fox,* and *The Tragedy of Nan.* He worked for a time on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian.*

This poem preaches the need for cheerfulness in the midst of misfortunes. Masefield feels that since this universe came into being as a result of God's joy, it is man's duty to take delight in the many beautiful things He has created in it, unmindful of his own sorrows.

better...teeth of a wrong—fight against evil.

a thread....span—life is short.

proud pageant of man—generations of men who have refused to bow down.

the joy He took in a rhyme—God made Heaven and Earth for the joy He took in bringing about harmony out of chaos.

strong red wine of His mirth—God's joy with which He has filled Heaven and Earth, is compared with strong red wine.

jubilant—joyous.

1414

the sign of the joy of the Lord—the earth is one of the forms of God's joy.

akin—of like nature.

guesting—living for a short while on this earth like guests.

lilt—melodious sound.

game—game of life.

EXERCISES

A. 1. Why does Masefield want man to laugh and be merry?

2. Why did God make Heaven and Earth?

3. What are the images used in the last stanza to describe this world?

B. *Explain with reference to the context :—*

1. Laugh, for the time is brief, a thread the length of a span.
   Laugh, and be proud to belong to the old proud pageant of man.

2. God made Heaven and Earth for the joy He took in a rhyme.

3. Be merry together, like brothers akin,
   Guesting awhile in the rooms of a beautiful inn.

C. *Name the figures of speech in the following :—*

1. Filled them full with the strong red wine of His mirth.

2. Drink from the deep blue cup of the sky.

LESSON 38

Polonius's Advice to His Son

(William Shakespeare)

Give thy thoughts no tongue,
Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatch'd unfledg'd comrade.
Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,
Bear't, that th' opposed may beware of thee.
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice:
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy
judgment.

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not guady:
For the apparel oft proclaims the man;
And they in France of the best rank and station
Are most select and generous, chief in that.

Neither a borrower nor a lender be:
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.

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This above all ; to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

NOTES

William Shakespeare (1564–1616), a great Elizabethan writer, is generally ranked as the greatest dramatist and poet of the world. In addition to his many plays—Comedies, Historical plays and Dramatic Romances–he has written two long narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and a sonnet sequence consisting of 154 sonnets. Some of his important plays are, *Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Henry the Fourth*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Winter's Tale and The Tempest*.

This extract is from *Hamlet*. Polonius. the Lord Chamberlain, gives this advice to his son Laertes, who is on his way to Paris. The advice is sound, full of shrewd, practical wisdom and many bits of it have long since been regarded as maxims.

give they....no tongue—do not reveal your thoughts.
nor any....his act—do not translate any ill-formed thought into action.
his—its.
adoption—attitude towards you.
tried—tested.
grapple them—hold them fast.
hoop—circular band of metal.
dull thy palm—'Make callous thy palm by shaking every man by the hand'. (Johnson).

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entertainment—entertaining.
new-hatch'd—newly formed.
unfledg'd—unripe.
bear't—fight it.
opposed—opponent.
censure—opinion.
reserve—keep back.
habit—clothes.
express'd in fancy—gaudy.
gaudy—showy; flashy.
apparel—dress.
oft—often.
proclaims—reveals.
they—those.
station—position.
select—excellent.
generous—nobly born.
chief in that—chiefly in dress.
dulls the edge of husbandry—makes one less mindful of economy.
false—unfaithful.

Exercise

A. 1. What is the advice of Polonius as regards thought, speech and action?
2. What has Polonius to say about friendship?
3. What are Polonius's comments on a man's dress?
4. Why does Polonius advise his son not to be a borrower or a lender?

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5. What is the ideal which Polonius recommends to his son?

B. *Explain with reference to the context:—*

1. But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
   Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade.
2. Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice:
   Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
3. Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
   But not express'd in fancy; rich not gaudy:
   For the apparel oft proclaims the man.
4. For loan oft loses both itself and friend;
   And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
5. To thine own self be true;
   And it must follow, as the night the day
   Thou canst not then be false to any man

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LESSON 39

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT

(CARDINAL NEWMAN)

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home!
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path, but now
Lead Thou me on!
I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.

So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone,
And with the morn those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, lost awhile.

NOTES

John Henry Newman (1801—1890), popularly known as Cardinal Newman, was educated at Oxford.

He led the famous Oxford Movement. His important works are, *The Dream of Gerontius*, *The Idea of a University Defined*, and his autobiography, *Apologia Pro Vata Sua*. As a writer he is well known for his clarity of thought and expression. His style has a musical ring.

This poem was written in 1833, during his voyage from Palermo to Marseilles. It is a personal record, and reflects a spiritual crisis in his life viz., whether to follow the Anglican Church or to go ever to the Roman Catholic form of worship. In 1845 he became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith and Cardinal of the Church of Rome in 1879. The poem is really a hymn, and is used as a prayer on all occasions when one is in distress and in need of divine guidance and consolation.

kindly light—Divine guidance.

encircling—surrounding.

the night is dark—my mind is filled with the darkness of ignorance.

far from home—for from the truth; the real Church of God.

keep Thou my feet—prevent me from falling into error.

the distant scene—the final Truth gained after much effort.

garish—showy; the flashy meaningless side of religion.

spite of—in spite of.

moor—a large piece of uncultivated ground usually covered with heather.

fen—low marshy land; wet land.

torrent—a rushing stream.

And with the morn ... and lost awhile—Newman has had glimpses of the Truth earlier, now unhappily lost in the darkness of ignorance. With the help of Divine guidance he is confident of recapturing this joy of Truth.

Exercises

A. 1. Why does Newman seek the guidance of the light now and not earlier?
2. Newman describes himself in the poem as a traveller. What is the nature of his journey?
3. What idea does the poem give of Newman's state of mind at the time he wrote this poem?

B. *Explain with reference to the conxtext :—*
1. Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.
2. I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.
3. And with the morn those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

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INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first Session of the Indian History Congress was held at Trivandrum from the 25th to the 28th December, 1958, under the auspices of the University of Kerala. Apart from the intellectual treat that was provided by the hundred or more original papers from our usual contributors whose names are a byword for the high standard of their research, the Delegates were overwhelmed by the sumptuous hospitality of the university and the heart-warming reception accorded to them by their kindly countrymen from this bewitching part of India which MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar, the father of Indian History Congress, aptly described in his concluding address to the Sesson as the Kashmir of South India.

It was the kindly thought of the late Dr. John Matthai, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University, to have the Congress hold its Session at Trivandrum that made it possible for this distinguished assembly of Indian historians to gather at a place fraught with special significance as being the capital of a State whose people though widely differing in their religious outlook have yet practised peaceful co-existence over the years. As Dr. Matthai truly observed in his welcome address to the delegates : ' In my part of Kerala I can remember a spot where within a radius of a mile there existed a temple, a mosque, a church, and a synagogue, and between them there was not only a spirit of tolerance but of mutual respect. ' It was perhaps as well that Kerala provided the main point of contact between India and the West. For it was the presence in their midst of the foreigners that was responsible for the development of the cosmopolitan culture which has ever been the distinguishing mark of the people of Kerala.

It is interesting to note that what brought these foreigners to Malabar was pepper—a typically Kerala product, which in those early days caused the drain of Roman gold to India, just as in our times it earns dollar credit for the Indian Union. We are told in the Akananura, a Tamil work which is assigned to the first or the second century A.D. that the Yavanas came in large vessels carrying gold and returned with pepper :

yavanar tantva vinaimāṇ nankalam
ponnoḍu vantu kaṛiyoḍu peyarum.

This drain of spice was, no doubt, highly inconvenient to Rome. For besides bringing about an unfavourable balance of trade, it caused

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severe currency difficulties, resulting in great embarrassment to government. The economic thinkers in Rome thundered against this trafficking in pepper. But despite their protests the trade went on merrily, yielding vast fortunes to producers, merchants and middlemen.

It was only natural what with this intimate maritime and commercial intercourse with the ouside world Malabar should have been exposed to the influence of foreign ideas since ancient times. And thus it was through Kerala that both Christianity and Islam entered this country.

In his learned address to the Local History Section Prof. Joseph Mundassery, the then Education Minister of Kerala State, observes that 'the Arabs and the Syrian Christians got mixed with the upper classes of Kerala during their stay in our emporiums, converted many from among them to their creeds and paved the ground for the growth of the Christian and the Muslim communities in Kerala.' In his contribution to this subject Fr. C. K. Mattom adds that the early Christian converts were recruited mainly from the Namboodiris and in support of his assertion points to the significant fact that among the women outside the Namboodiri fold it is the Christian women alone that dress like the Namboodiris. As to the Muslims Dr. K. S. Lal relates in his presidential address to the Medieval History Section that Islam grew so popular that early in the 9th century Cheruman Perumal, the King of Malabar, embraced Islam and adopted the name Abdur Rahmn Samri, and that the Zamorin went so far as to encourage the humbler castes of Hindus to embrace Islam in order that he may in course of time have able laskars from among his own people to man his ships. But long before this the Christian and the Muslims had stepped into the vacancy in the caste hierarchy of Malabar, arising from the non-existence in this part of India of the trader class among the Hindus, and had been integrated as *vaishyas* into the community.

The contributions appearing in the Local History Section further elucidate these interesting questions and add to our knowledge of the history of Malabar. In his very important paper Fr. E. R. Hambye investigates into the organisation of the Malabar Church in the early days and comes to the conclusion that it was at first affiliated to the bishopric of Basra and then to the patriarchate of Rēw Ardashīr and that it was only between A.D. 650 and 790 that the Indian Metropolitan see was set up under orders from the Patriarch Ishōyahb. Shri C. V. George speaks of the Christian chiefs of the Villalvettam family, whose territory was merged in the erstwhile State of Cochin when the family became extinct. Shri K. V. Krishna Ayyar gives an account of the Namboodiris and explains such customs as that of the younger sons of the family contracting mantra-varja marriages by taking non-dvija

(non-Brahman) wives under the pretence of naiṣṭika Brahmacharya or life of a studious celibate. In a learned paper based on both the eastern and the western sources Prof. A. P. Ibrahim Kunju relates the history of the family of naval chiefs, the Kuññāli Marakkārs of Koṭṭakal, who had the distinction of engaging the best sea-fighters of the times, the intrepid Portuguese. In an able survey of the source material, Dr. T. I. Poonen discusses the utility of the Dutch and the English documents from Malabar now in the Record Office, Madras. These Dutch records relate to their factory at Cochin, and remaining as they do in much the same condition as they did at the end of the 18th century they constitute a rich unexplored source for the history of Kerala during the period. One of the interesting facts revealed by these documents is that the English officers of the East India Company made a systematic attempt to collect as much information as possible about the Malabar coinage. This information has been laid under contribution by Prof. P. K. K. Menon in his original study on coinage in the 18th century appearing in this volume. Finally, Shri Krishan Lal in his paper does honour to the memory of an early fighter in the cause of freedom, Vailoo Tambe, the Dewan of Travancore, who in 1809 planned an unsuccessful rising against the British allied with the French in far-off Mauritius.

II

And now coming to General History India, Ancient India has as usual attracted greater attention than the Medieval and the Modern periods. In his presidential address to the Session Dr. K. K. Datta pays a just tribute to the work of Dr. A. S. Altekar under whose distinguished guidance the K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, recently conducted archaeological excavations. These excavations were first carried out at Pāṭaliputra, the results of which showed that the Maurya Hall was destroyed not in the post-Gupta period, as is generally believed, but in 150 B.C. The excavations conducted in the city of Patna revealed a square base of a round polished column the like of which had so far never been known. Other institutions like the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute and the Calcutta University, not to speak of the Archaeological Department, Government of India, have also done useful work and added to our knowledge of the periods they have covered.

Referring to prehistory in his presidential address to Section I Ancient India, Prof. S. K. Saraswati suggests that prehistory with proto-history should constitute a section by itself and that Ancient India should cover the period from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1206. This suggestion is reasonable in view of the fact that as elsewhere prehistory has come to a new importance in our country, and if the Indian Science Congress has been persuaded in recognition of the increasing popularity of the subject to accord to it a separate section, there is no reason why it

should not have the same status in the Indian History Congress, specially because whatever may be its relations to other sciences, it has its principal bearings on past history. But unfortunately for the suggestion there is but a solitary contribution to prehistory in the present volume—an account by Dr. R. Mehta of the excavations carried out at the important archaeological site at Jokha in the Kamrej taluka of the Surat district. The artifacts unearthed reveal connections with the proto-historic cultures of Maharashtra, Malwa, and Saurashtra.

In his address Prof. Saraswati rightly draws the attention of the scholars to a neglected period in our history from the fall of the Guptas to the Muslim conquest, which he terms 'the medieval phase' of Ancient India. He sounds a warning against accepting the evidence of dynastic chronicles or even of the inscriptions as gospel truth, because most of these were produced by court-poets who, as experience teaches us, were not free from the normal failing of eulogizing their patrons.

Speaking of dynastic history, Dr. R. S. Sharma, writing on Kushāṇa polity maintains that in contrast to the Maurya administration which was highly centralized, the Kushāṇa political organisation was of the feudatory type in which the vassals owed nominal allegiance to their overlord. According to him the titles rājātirāja Sāhāṇu Sāhi instead of implying any exaltation of royal authority, as held by scholars, betokened tendencies towards decentralisation. However, this weakness of the Kushāṇa political system was compensated for by its close association with divine elements, as shown by the assumption on the part of these rulers of the title of Devaputra, *i.e.*, godson. A knowledge of the political and economic conditions during the period may be had from coins apart from other sources, a task which is successfully achieved by Dr. S. K. Maity in his paper entitled " the gold contents of the coins of the Kushāṇas, the Kushāṇa chiefs and the Sassanians."

Prof. Jagannath Agraval brings ingenious arguments in support of his view that the reason why Skandagupta gave anxious thought to the defence of Saurāshṭra was because he feared an impending invasion of that part of his empire by the Hūṇas who were entering India through the Bolan pass near Quetta. The whole of this region still goes under the name of Zabulistan, the land of the Zabols, and as the title Sāhi Jaubala assumed by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula occurs in the Ephthalite inscriptions of other rulers as well, it is evident that it was a tribal and not a personal name—thus making it appear that the land in which this tribe settled came to be called Zabulistan. The next paper on the Guptas is on Purugupta in which Shri Batindranath Mukherji asks whether this ruler ever issued coins and answers the question in the negative.

Of pan-Indian interest is the paper of Prof. Sunitikumar Pathak on Indo-Tibetan relations in pre-Atisa period. It would appear that following the death of the powerful kings of Northern India like Harsha of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa Tibet imposed her suzerainty on Nepal and parts of Northern India for some time. But in the eighth century Lalitāditya Muktapida of Kashmir redressed the balance by annexing a part of Tibet. The cultural relations between the two countries, however, were maintained, and it is probably under the influence of the Indian Buddhist scholars that were invited to Tibet from time to time that the complicated Tibetan script was revised and simplified after the Indian models and Buddhist monasteries and temples were built on the pattern of Indian temples and monasteries. But the Tibetan monks also visited India. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his paper appearing in this section gives the biographical sketch of one of such monk-pilgrims from Tibet—Chos-rje-dpal (A.D. 1197-1264). We learn that at the time of his visit Nālandā was a ghost of its former self, but contrary to general belief the University had not been completely destroyed by the troops under Bakhtiyar Khalji.

The history of peninsular India has been treated in this Section by some of our veterans. Dr. M. Rma Rao continues to give us the benefits of his locubrations on the eluding history of the Sātavāhanas, and attempts in his present contribution to establish that 221 B.C. was the starting-point of their rule MM. Dr. V. V. Mirsahi publishes the Manor plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, the first great King of the dynasty, hailing from Aurangabad. The plates throw new light on the history of the Konkan, showing that the Chalukya Prince Vinayāditya-Mangalarasa was ruling in Konkan from his capital Mangalapuri. There is an inscription of his discovered at Manor itself dated in a year corresponding to A.D. 691. He continued to rule till A.D. 731-32, as is shown by another of his grants discovered at Balsad in Gujarat. Soon thereafter Konkan seems to have been conquered by Dantidurga. For at the time of the grant of the present plates (A.D. 749-50) Konkan was governed by Aniruddha, who, as he does not bear the title of Sāmanta or Māṇḍalika, was only a governor appointed by Dantidurga. About fifty years later in *c.* A.D. 800 the Rāshṭrakūṭas made over the Konkan to the Śilāhāra Prince Kapardin I, whose descendants remained loyal to their suzerain to the last.

A branch of the imperial Chalukyas who called themselves Chaulukyas ruled with power and glory over Gujarat, whose decline under Bhīmadeva II is generally explained as a result of the alienation of the Jainas. Prof. Nisit Ranjan Ray questions the soundness of this view, and after a review of the policy of these kings towards the Jainas, especially under kumārapāla and Ayyapāla, concludes that the alienation of the

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Jainas cannot be taken as a factor contributing to the decline of the Chaulukya power. There is yet another family claiming connection with the Chalukyas, the Vaghelas who supplanted the Chaulukyas as rulers of Gujarat. Dr. C. Das Gupta publishes an inscription of the Chalukya-Vaghela King Sārangadeva found at the Ramji temple in the former Idar State. The inscription belongs to the 15th century, and with the details furnished by it Dr. Das Gupta revises the genealogical table of these rulers, as given by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The inscription whose object was to record the erection of a temple of the Sun by Vaijalladeva in memory of his parents also gives the historical information that King Viśvala of the family defeated the ruler of Dhāra, and destroyed the city.

Now adverting to the economic, social, religious and cultural history of the period—we may turn our attention to the paper of Dr. Shyam Chand Mukherji on the Lilāvati of Bhāskarāchārya, the reputed originator of ' Differential Calculus ' in which from the coin-denominations and their weights and the ruling prices of the various commodities, the author seeks to draw information on the economic condition of India in the 12th century in the time of Bhāskara; and to the paper of Dr. Udai Narain Ray on the Apārajitapṛechā of Bhīmadeva in which Dr. Ray describes the ideas of town-planning current during the same period.

There is an important paper by Dr. Madan Mohan Singh entitled "Brahmanism as described in early Buddhist texts" which serves to give an idea of the vitality of this religion which despite the ground yielded to Buddhism, still continued to be the dominant creed of India and, as is shown in his paper by Dr. Baij Nath Puri, make new conquests in the far-off Kambūjadeśa and infuse itself into the socio-religious structure of that country. Even in the homeland it soon turned the tables on Buddhism, as is shown by Shri Sarat Chandra Behra in his paper on the beginnings of Vaishṇavism in Orissa, where in the new form it had assumed Brahmanism overthrew Jainism and Buddhism when the Māṭharas, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas, went there from the Deccan with their customs and faith.

Associated with the creeds are the icons used in religious worship. Although the characteristics of these images representing the various deities have long been settled, sculptures often come to light which set puzzles to the scholars, while old sculptures are re-examined with a view to check cases of mistaken identity. In the latter category falls the important contribution of Dr. José Pereira on a panel at Elephanta near Bombay which was usually described as ' Pārvatī in an attitude of māna '. Mr. Pereira holds that while the description is not

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incorrect the full identification of the panel should be with the dyūta-krīḍā, the sculptor at Elephanta having followed the theme as described in the Skanda Purāṇa. The new identifications are those of the ten images of Mahiśāsuramardhini from Alampur in Andhrapradesh by Shri Radhakrishna Sharma, and of the two images of Māhāśrī Tārā by Shri Pratapaditya Pal. The Mahiśāsuramardhini images do not conform to any of the known śilpa texts, such as the *śilparatna*, the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Kātyāyani*, nor do they agree among themselves. They are doubtless comparable to the Pallava, Chalukya and Choḷa examples in certain aspects but they differ from them in other respects, and thus these ten Mahiśāsuramardhini images from Alampur become unique. The two images of Mahāśrī Tārā were both found in Nepal, and conform to the description of this goddess in a Sādahna, which is quoted in full by Shri Pal.

III

In the section of Medieval History the papers are evenly distributed, and the Sultanate of Delhi, the Mughal Empire, Vijayanagara and the Marathas have all come in for their due share of attention. In his thought-provoking address to the Section Dr. K. S. Lal surveys the attempts made by the saints and the statesmen of the 15th and the 16th centuries to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity, all of which ended in a fiasco, addressed as they were only to a section of the people. The audiences of Nanak and Kabir, for instance, were composed largely of the unprivileged, while Akbar's appeal which was confined to the nobles and high officials left the mass of the people largely untouched. Moreover all these efforts, calculated to bring about unity on the basis of religion, were bound to founder on account of the unwillingness of the followers of each religion to admit the least change in their faith. Dr. Lal therefore concludes that, if we are to take to heart the lessons of Medieval Indian History, we should shift the emphasis from religion and politics and try other means of achieving the purpose. And he thinks that the study of our nation's history in its all comprehending cultural aspects is the answer.

The papers on political history commence with Mahmud of Ghazna whose victory over Jaipal in A.D. 1001 is described by Shri K. L. Akhgar. In his opinion the victory was due to the care taken by Mahmud in selecting a better ground and the efficiency of his system of espionage. The next paper by Shri Ajit Kumar Sen is on the Khalji period, and describes the rebellion of Hājī Maulah. The author ascribes the rebellion to the oppression of the people by the Kotwal of Delhi during Ala-ud-din's absence at Ranthambhor and not to any pre-conceived plan. This is followed by an important paper on the Tughlaq period by the veteran

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historian Prof. S. H. Askari entitled "Side-lights on Firuz Shah and his times" in which the author invites attention of the scholars to the corpus of literature produced during the period which may serve as a valuable, though indirect, source of information for the history of the Tughlaqs. The *Diwan* of Maulana Mutahhar of Kara, for instance, which is still unexplored, reveals the internal condition of Firuz Shah's empire, while the *Fatawa-i-Firuz Shah*, a rare work on civil and ecclesiastical law, affords glimpses into tne condition of the Zimmis (*i.e.*, protected non-Muslims), and discusses a hotly debated theme among the Muslim as among the Christian theologians of medieval times— the question of the tyrannicide.

Prof. K. H. Kamdar has brought to light an Arabic-Sanskrit inscription of H 807 and V.S. 1462 which is interesting in that the Takshata family it speaks of as having constructed a step-well at Vātāpura (Baroda) was the Tank Rajput family which, after it was converted to Islam, founded in the fifteenth century the independent Sultanate of Gujarat. The Takkas or Tank Rajputs are referred to by Hemachandra in his *Dwyasharaya* as the brave and dauntless soldiers moving majestically and defiantly in the city of Pāṭan. Of importance to the history of Gujrat and Rajasthan is the paper of Dr. Arya Ramachandra G. Tiwari on the second siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in which in the light of the unpublished *MSS.* dealing with the siege the author revises the chronology of the events.

The Mughal period has also been ably treated. Dr. Sukumar Ray publishes a letter of Humayun to his brother Mirza Kamran announcing the news of the death of Babar and his own accession, emphasizing the need for unity and concord in the difficult circumstances facing the Mughal State. In one of the best papers in the volume Shri B. P. Ambashthya indicates an important unpublished source for the history of Akbar, a Urdu *MS.* in the Khudabakhsh Library, Patna, in which Safdar Ali, the Mir Munshi of Raja Todar Mal, deals with the wars fought in Bihar, Bengal an Orissa in the reign of Akbar during the period from A.D. 1574 to 1576. In a very ably written paper Dr. S. Nurul Hasan critically examines the theory of the Nur Jahan junta and comes to the conclusion that the assumption that between 1611 and 1620 Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan formed a single faction does not conform to facts, and what is more Nur Jahan's political role starts only with he decline in the health of Jahangir and the death of I'timad-ud-Daula. Shri K. B. Singh gives a picture of the political and social condition of the Mughal Empire under Jahangir gleaned from the Chitrāvali of Usman, a Sufi poet from Gazipur in U.P.

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Of interest to the history of administration are the papers of Shri Queyam Uddin Ahmad, Dr. H. R. Ghosal and Dr. Urfan M. Habib. Shri Ahmad examines a portion of the *MS.* entitled *Dastur-ul-Amal,* compiled from official manuals, which contains information on the duties of officials and the forms of keeping public accounts. Dr. Ghosal examines the farmans of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam granting Lakhiraj lands to certain families. The documents, according to him, breathe a spirit of enlightenment in that the Mughal government evinced genuine solicitude in the welfare of the peasantry. He infers from the phrase, 'encouragement of the lower ranks of the people' occurring in the farman of Aurangzeb that it was the policy of the State to keep the vast masses of the agricultural population contented in order to win their good-will and support. The scholars will do well to read in conjunction with this paper that of Shri Saugata Mukherji on Lakhiraj lands, which shows how at a later day the Lakhiraj grants stood in the way of the general economic transformation of the country for the better. Prof. Irfan M. Habib maintains against the stand taken by certain writers that the zamindars were a universal feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India and that they were settled on a clan or caste basis and were commonly characterized by command of armed forces.

Four veterans have rushed to the support of the history of the Marathas which was completely neglected the previous year. Shri Setu Madhav Rao writes learnedly on *Besat-ul-Ganaim,* a history of the Marathas in Persian from the rise of the Bhonslas to 1761, the battle of Panipat, written towards the end of the 18th century by Laxminarayan Safiq of Aurangabad. The writer speaks with admiration of the bravery of the Marathas and the last desperate fight which Sadashiv Rao Bhau waged against the Afghans. But the work is uncritical and does not deserve much consideration as a book of history. Of interest to specialists in this period are the papers that follow: that of Prof. R. V. Oturkar on Jijabai in which the author contends that the mother of Shivaji was a copartner in the work of her illustrious son, handling difficult matters of state in his absence; that of Dr. A. C. Banerjee in which the different interpretations of article seven of the treaty of Purandhar are analysed with a view to decide the question of sovereignty of the Gaekwad, and that of Shri Satish Chandra in which the author disputes the opinion that Baji Rao I's primary object was the establishment of a Maratha domination in the North and that he was unmindful of consolidating further the Maratha domination in the Deccan.

Nor have Deccan and South India been neglected. Shri A. Krishna Swami speaks of the poets which the Tamil-nad produced

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during the 14th century—the twin poets Iraṭṭaiyars who collaborated to produce exquisite poetry of the Vaishṇava sect, and Villiputturālvār, the author of the Bhāratam, a monumental work of 4,889 stanzas. The patron of the former was Ekāmbaranātha Sambūvarāya of Padaiviḍu, who made himself independent in A.D. 3121 after defeating the Muslims and driving them away from the Tamil country. The patron of the latter poet was Varapati Āṭkoṇḍan, who is credited with saving the Tamil language when it was being overwhelmed by Kannada, apparently during the domination of the Tamil country by the Hoysaḷas.

Vijayanagara claims the attention of three of our historians, Kumari Jhansi Lakshmi, Shri P. B. Desai and Shri Y. Sriramamurty. After a thorough study of the inscriptions and other sources Kumari Jhansi Lakshmi indicates what, according to her, must have been the order of succession of the kings of the Sangama dynasty of Viayanagara. In a spirited contribution Shri Desai disputes the identification by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of Ganga Selāra, son of one Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar, a warrior mentioned on a hero stone (ascribed to the 12th century A.D.) from the Shimoga district of Mysore State with Ganga Śalāra who is said in an inscription from Belur in the same district, but dated A.D. 1397, to have destroyed the gopuram of the Chennakeśvara temple, and the further contention of Dr. Venkataramanayya that King Bukka I had a Muslim son. Shri Desai argues that, apart from the disparity in dates, while the Śalāra of the Belur record is the same as Persian Sālār, meaning leader, the Selāra of the Shimoga *viragal* has to be taken as an appellation or a family title and may be composed to Silāṛa or Seḷaṛa which are variants of Śilāhāra, often met with in inscriptions. One was a warrior who fell in a raid, while the other was a general of the Bahamanis, and neither had any connection with Bukka I.

In the last paper that relates to Vijaanagara Shri Y. Sriramamurty describes the fortunes of the Gaṇḍikota fort in the Cuddpah district of Andhrapradesh, which was the headquarters of the adjoining territory constituted into a *sima* by Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. It was held by his son-in-law, Rāmappayyadeva for some time, when it passed to the Pemmasāni family. In 1544 it was made over to the Nandyāla chiefs who were related to the ruling family of Vijayanagara. When the Nandyāla chief rebelled against Venkatapatirāya II, his life was spared by the Emperor, but his territories were partitioned between the Pemmasāni and Maṭli chiefs, Gaṇḍikota falling to the share of the former. During the reign of Śrīrangarāya III Mir Jumla took it by treachery from the Pemmasāni chief Timmanāyaka.

IV

The Modern India Section also has yielded a fairly good harvest. In his presidential address to the Section Prof. Kasim Ali Sajun Lal emphasises the importance of the newspapers as a source for the period, revealing as they do the inner history of the events of their time, great and small, and presenting historical personages and characters in their true perspective. 'To read their history,' observes Prof. Sajun Lal, 'is to enter into the life of the bygone days, and to accompany the editor, the correspondent and the news-letter writer through the nook and corner of the vast sub-continent of India, seeing it as they did through their eyes, watching their struggle with the local authorities through cumbersome proceedings of the courts of law.'

In one of the most interesting papers appearing in this Section Dr. K. K. Pillay speaks of Vira Pāṇḍyan Koṭṭabomman, the hero celebrated in many a folk-song and ballad, the Polegar of Pāñchāla-kurihi, who towards the close of the 18th century organized a league of Polegars against the English and broke into rebellion. Dr. Pillay, however, thinks that he hardly deserves the celebrity of a hero or a statesman, considering the fact that he had not the vision and ability to engender any successful scheme for the expulsion of the British, and that his moral character was of a low order. In an entirely different category is the personage described by Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray, Sadashiv Rao, the last Maratha Governor of Orissa, who assisted in the passage of the British regiments safely through his territory from Madras to Bengal and helped the British in organising the postal system in Orissa. But he was not a pliant instrument in their hands, and was respected by them for the independence of his judgment. The third important personality of the period figuring in this volume is Alivardi Khan, who from the petty Deputy-Governorship of Bihar rose to the exalted position of the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As told by Dr. Upendra Thakur, who bases his account on contemporary works, it is a tale of unflinching courage, genius for military organisation, intractability and vindictiveness.

In an important paper entitled "Grounds of Difference between Malcolm and Bentinck" Shri U. N. Datta holds that the conflict between the two was a conflict of ideologies—one based on tradition and sentiment, the other on reason and reform. Malcolm believed with Burke in conserving the past and going slow with changes; Bentinck imbued from Bentham his keenness in reshaping of society by applying new ideas to things antique. In the one case the object was to impove so long as it did not interfere, in the other it was to improve whenever necessary, whatever the consequences. Malcolm relied for the perpetuation of British rule and the progress of its subjects on the

ability and competence of the ruling class, while Bentinck turned to the new youth who displayed proficiency in English literature to regenerate the country.

Two other papers of interest on the pre-1857 period are that of Dr. H. L. Gupta on Kashgarh Succesion, 1841, showing how on the death of Mohkam Singh, the ruler of Kashgarh, his widow adopted Sultan Singh, an infant scion of her grandfather's family of Udaipur in total disregard of the pretensions of the houses of Fatehgarh and Ralaota—an act which led to the study of the Rajput usages relating to succession in the event of a ruler dying without issue; and that of Dr. M. N. Das describing an act of benevolence on the part of Dalhousie in the bold step he took in adopting the half-anna post, in spite of the fact that it threatened a loss of revenue of nine lakhs.

Interest still lingered this year in the happenings of 1857, which attracted great attention last year. In his contribution on the character of the movement, Prof. D. Tripathi attempts to show that it was the result of religious grievances, which were capitalized by the princes who had been mediatized. He further contends that, if it were a popular movement, it would certainly have left an impress on Hindi literature. But far from condemning British rule the Hindi writers of the times actually praise its achievements. The opposite view is expressed by Shri A. P. Jha in his paper entitled, "A contemporary British officers views on civil administration of Bengal and Bihar in 1855." The officer concerned was none other than the Commissioner of Patna, William Tyler, who expressed the view that the government was out of touch with the people and that serious misunderstanding was growing between the rulers and the ruled. The last paper dealing with the same subject is that of Dr. Paresh Nath Mukherji in which he describes the role played by Bulandshahr where Walid Khan, a near relation of the Mughal Emperor, organzed a strong resistance, cutting telegraph wires and stopping the 'dak' communication.

In his paper "Political background of the Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876" Dr. R. K. Das Gupta attempts to show that the Act was intended as a measure against the growing national stage and its political repertoire, and was thus a prelude to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 through which Lord Lytton desired to suppress all Indian opinion against the British government. Of the three plays that precipitated the passing of the Act, the Chakar Darpan Natak was an attack on the European tea-planters which was taken by government as an attack on itself. The second originated from the exile of Malhar Rao, and was named Chakar Darpan Gaekwad Natak. The third was Surendra Bhodini Natak which was an intensely political piece of writing

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and seditious in character. When the persons responsible for staging the drama, who had been found guilty by a lower court, were acquitted by the High Court, Government got the Dramatic Performances Control Act passed, which empowered it to prohibit a dramatic performance in case it was likely to cause disaffection against it.

Among the papers on what is sometimes termed 'Current History' the paper of Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya on an intercepted letter of Keir Hardie to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, that of Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee on the first split in the Indian National Congress, and that of Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose on frontier delimitation, 1885-87, are on well-worn topics needing no further introduction, and will all be read with increasing interest no less than profit. Attention, should, however, be drawn to the paper of Dr. P. L. Mehra to which special interest attaches itself at the moment. On a critical examination of Lord Curzon's Despatch of January 8, 1903, Dr. Mehra discovers in it the beginnings of a policy towards Tibet which found its ultimate logical development in the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa, and the conclusion of 'peace' on terms dictated by the victors. The Despatch also spells out Curzon's approach to the Tibetan question and affords a rare insight into the mind of the Viceroy.

The history of Assam has a paper devoted to it by its assiduous researcher, Prof. K. N. Dutt, in which the author discusses the causes of the decline of the Ahoms and describes the course that it took. It is only meet and just that reference be made before concluding this survey to a publication whose appearance coincided with the Congress Session at Trivandrum. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar's book *Relations between the French and the Marathas* is an important contribution to the subject, based as it is on a painstaking study of the state paper of three powers—the French, the English and the Marathas—besides published literature. In a methodical, systematic and all-embracing survey the author reviews with critical thoroughness all contacts between the two nations in every sphere in India where they met, or had anything to do with each other.

It is now my pleasant duty to thank the Trustees of the Sir Dorabjee Tata Trust for their kind contribution towards the publication of this volume and that of its predecessor; and the authorities of the University of Bombay, and in particular Prof. G. D. Parikh, the

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Rector, for the facilities which they most graciously offered to have the present volume printed at the University Press. I am also thankful to Mr. V. G. Moghe, Superintendent, and Mr. A. M. D'Souza, Assistant Superintendent, and their efficient staff for executing the work with their usual skill and care.

Elphinstone College Day,
23rd December, 1959.

GEORGE MORAES,
General Secretary.

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WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

DR. JOHN MATTHAI, D.Sc. (ECON.) LONDO

Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University and Chairman of the Reception Committee.

I SHOULD, at the outset, apologise to the Indian History Congress for my inability to be present at its Annual Session at Trivandrum. Some unexpected Commitments, which I could not well set aside, have made it impossible for me to be present at the Conference. It is a disappointment to me that I am unable to meet your members and extend to them personally the greetings and good wishes of the Kerala University. I am, therefore, asking my colleague Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, to convey to you our appreciation of the fact that the Congress is meeeting at Trivandrum this year and our hope that its proceedings held under the auspices of this University will mark a further step in the advancement of historical knowledge and the promotion of historical studies.

It is appropriate that the Indian History Congress should meet in Kerala. Kerala provides a vast and promising field of historical research. Its history, reflecting its geographical position, its social conditions, the distinguishing features of its economy and its language and culture constitutes a fascinating subject of study.

From as far back as we can trace our history, almost until recent times, Kerala provided the main point of contact between India and the West not merely in trade but in cultural matters. It has developed, in consequence, a cosmopolitan outlook which has distinguished its people through all the varied phases of its long and eventful history.

The trade between Kerala and the West may be traced at least to the days of the Roman Empire and by reason of its geographical position and the enterprise of its people, this tradition was maintained and actively developed until the beginning of the modern era of mechanisation and large-scale organisation.

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The history of Kerala is specially interesting in the sphere of cultural relations with other countries. As a result of its contact at various periods of history with the West and the Middle East, most of the principal religions of the world are represented among its population. This is a factor which has stimulated the mental and spiritual life of the people. Kerala provides a remarkable example of religious tolerance and amity at a time when religious persecution was the order of the day in European countries. India practised then a degree of tolerance and mutual appreciation of religious beliefs which presented a striking contrast with the rest of the World. In my part of Kerala I can remember a spot where within a radius of a mile there existed a temple, a mosque, a church and a synagogue, and between them there was not merely a spirit of tolerance but of mutual respect.

Apart from its cultural relations with other countries, Kerala holds a pre-eminent place in the development of Indian thought. It was in Kerala that Sankaracharya began his life which ultimately laid the foundations of a philosophical system which constitutes one of India's profoundest contributions to human thought. Kerala has perhaps preserved Sanskrit culture and tradition in its literature to a larger extent than other parts of South India. This is partly a result of the fact that barring Tippu Sultan's invasion, Kerala was mostly free from Moslem invasion and occupation which helped it to maintain uninterrupted its interest in Sanskrit studies. But it is mainly due to the fact that the aristocracy of Kerala was not only an aristocracy of wealth and power but also of learning and maintained a vital and organic connection with the ancient founts of Aryan thought and culture in the North.

Unlike the rest of India, Kerala has never possessed a system of village communities. The land here between the Ghats and the sea, by reason of its diversified and broken surface, did not lend itself to the formation of village communities in the sense of little clusters of contiguous houses in small compact areas. The institutions of village self-government which prevailed throughout India were hardly in existence in Kerala. The people living in isolated homesteads have formed strong individualistic habits of life which have had their repercussion on the social life as well as the economic structure of the area. The system of local administration bore the characteristics more of a feudal society than of village communities.

The matriarchal system which in some respects is a derivative of a feudal type of society, organised for defence purposes, has had its effect upon the social life of Kerala. It gave women an opportunity of exercising their powers of leadership and organisation and have accustomed people to women being accorded their due place in society.

The keen interest in education and child development, of which the high percentage of literacy in Kerala is a symbol, is to be traced largely to the predominant influence of women in society.

Speaking of the study of Indian history generally, I have little doubt that there has been a perceptible increase of interest in historical studies in India since the attainment of political independence ten years ago. Every nationalist movement seeks to base itself upon a sense of historical achievement and tradition from which inspiration could be derived for the maintenance of national unity. Whatever may be the causes which promote nationalism, its successful fulfilment in the form of a nation-state and its continuance in that form make it necessary to postulate an inspiring historical background. While the achievement of national independence therefore stimulates historical research and creates greater interest in the study of history, nationalism has its dangers against which it is well for students of history to guard themselves. The natural desire in a country with a strong nationalist feeling to stress the brighter side of its past and to turn a blind eye on its dark and dismal features will have unhealthy reactions on the writing of history. There is already some evidence of this happening in India and I conceive it to be one of the responsibilities resting upon this Congress to see that history is a truthful record of the things it narrates and interprets.

A distinguished Cambridge historian, writing in the latter half of the 19th century, emphasized the importance of history as a foundation for the study of political science. History without political science, he thought, had no fruit and similarly, political science without history had no root. While it is true that in a politically conscious society, the interest of the study of history centres largely round its political aspects, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the everyday life of common people, in which politics figure so little, is a more important and more interesting study than the instruments and achievements of Governments. So little is known today of the social and economic conditions of our people not merely in the remote but also in the recent past, that the subject deserves greater attention than it seems to receive at present. This is a difficult branch of history but its study is well worthwhile not merely because of its inherent interest but because of the guidance it would provide for social and economic progress.

I wish your Conference every success. I hope you will enjoy your visit to Kerala and take back happy memories of the land and the people. On behalf of the Kerala University, I offer you a most cordial welcome.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

Governor of Kerala

MR. PRESIDENT, LEARNED DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I CONSIDER it a matter of genuine pleasure and privilege to have been asked to inaugurate the 21st session of the Indian History Congress in this city of great historical importance. I am not a historian and have never had an opportunity of becoming a scholar or even a serious student of history. The fact that you have invited a layman like myself to inagurate the session is indicative of the sincere desire of your learned body to enlist the interest and co-operation of all classes of people in your mighty endeavour. I have therefore very great pleasure in welcoming this learned body to this city and to associate myself with the session by inaugurating its deliberations.

2. The Indian History Congress is a non-official body comprising learned scholars and eminent historians. Besides meeting regularly almost every year under the auspices of a University, this body has been continuously engaged in the investigation and solution of various problems of research in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern periods of Indian history. The study of history of mankind is the result of the perennial quest of man for knowledge, which is rooted in the memory of human race. This quest is coeval with human consciousness; but it receives special stimulus during periods when the self-consciousness of people awakens owing to political, economic or social factors. Man seems to have always interested himself in celebrating his conquests and victories, by engraving figures or composing heroic songs, or incising frescoes even in the caves and caverns, which he is said to have originally inhabited. All nations of the past have preserved such historical data in their literary, archæological, numismatic, and architectural remains. They constitute the raw material out of which history is produced. But most of the history of ancient nations may not be considered as pure history as distinguished from its literature, from the point of view of modern scientific methods of historical enquiry. I presume to think, therefore, that the difficulty which an Indian historian

faces in reconstructing the ancient history of our land, namely, that of separating religion, mythology and tradition from pure facts of history as understood by modern historians, is not peculiar to our country. It has to be faced by historians of all countries who are engaged in reconstructing their past history in accordance with the scientific method of collation and interpretation of facts and reconciling them with the scientific principle of causation. While in some sense history is a science, because it also deals with facts as science does; it differs at the same time from science, because the latter takes as its basis the theory of causation and the notion of an eternal immutable universal law, which binds all particulars in a chain of cause and effect, and of reciprocity and transformation. But the facts with which the historian deals are not physical. They are not directly perceived by him like the data of science. The historian deals only with the records of such data, documentary, archæological, numismatic, and others. They constitute his material and authority to prove his narration of event, as they happened in the process of history. It is, therefore, a kind of reconstruction of thought and a recreation of facts which are fragmentary and not continuous and very often shrouded in oblivion. The historian has therefore to rely very largely on his *a priori* imagination which has to restore the continuity of facts by its own interpolation and raise the dead to life and make them the object of thought. History is akin to science in so far as it is enabled to discriminate between facts that are good and facts that are evil and between the epochs that are progressive and those that are regressive. But its aim is to seek and understand what function a particular fact, or an individual, or an epoch has fulfilled in a given age, and what each of them has produced of goodness, truth and beauty. This interpretative function of history gives it a purpose, and to this extent history partakes of the nature of philosophy and synthetic thought in general. Historical consciousness grows wider and wider and includes within its purview all sectors of human experience—religious, moral, social, political, economic and cultural—so that history becomes the knowledge of the "infinite world of facts," and the "infinite whole of thought." But history is like man's memory; it preserves all that is significant about the past in the present moment. Therefore theoretically speaking, there can be no finality about history and each generation may have to re-write the narrative of the past from its own point of view. It is an eternal search for truth. But the thinking of history is always adequate to the moment at which it appears, and always inadequate to the moment that follows. The study of history is therefore of absorbing interest to those who desire to understand by the history of a country, its collective life-movement shaping through ages, the course of its destiny, and the determining character of its distinct form of culture and type of civilisation. The facts collected from all available sources

are tested, classified and interpreted in their own laboratory by all historians, so that the further framework or structure may be built on those foundations.

3. Coming to the reconstruction of the history of our own country, the historians have to face special difficulties and handicaps. It is true that there is an unbroken continuity between the India of the Vedic age and the India of the 20th century, and yet the structure of society revealed in that remote age is profoundly different from what it is today. The comparative absence of historical record in ancient India is said to be due to two reasons. One is that having impenetrable and natural boundaries guaranteeing a fairly peaceful and quiet life, the ancient Indians did not feel the urge and necessity of recording historical facts. The second is that they were temperamentally disinclined to give any importance to evanescent events of life which they considered as insignificant when compared to the reality of the timeless age of the cosmos. It, therefore, becomes difficult to fix dates, though the continuity of history can be fairly established. Indian history-writing in the modern sense of the term had been practically the monopoly of foreign scholars for a long time. Indian scholars like the late R. G. Bhandarkar, Ranade, Romeshchandra Dutt, and others laid the foundations of the Indian school of history. Since then an increasingly large number of Indian scholars and researchers have laboured hard and devotedly, to uncover new materials and data and to examine them critically in the light of the archæological, numismatic, documentary and other valuable information collected through the labours of official and non-official agencies, dealing with the history of periods, dynasties, individuals, and also with movements and special aspects of life and culture. But still there are important lacunæ which have not been filled up. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done. The most serious gap is the absence of a synoptic view of the social and cultural development of India. The history of our country has been presented by both European and Indian scholars largely in fragments; and historical works are largely devoted to the narration of political history in all its varied, chequered, and kaleidoscopic character which is itself sufficiently fascinating. Some notable scholars have made a serious attempt at a total survey of the social and cultural development of India. But in spite of the fullest sense of impartiality, their valuable researches suffer from a certain amount of cultural bias which it is not easy to overcome. It is always very difficult for foreign scholars to discover and develop that understanding of the innermost soul of a people which is the real object of history. For the ancient Indian mind, history was Purana and Ithihasa and the two together indicated almost similar substance. For the Hindu thinker, history included cosmology, mythology, biography, religion, and tradition. To them traditions relating to Gods and the genealogies of sages and

Kings were all part of one larger whole, and they never made any distinction between these various branches of knowledge, and never gave them separate treatment. Even the Greeks who are supposed to be the first exponents of scientific history, like Egyptians and other ancient nations, seem to have conceived of history and of experience as being transmuted into a mythologically-fashioned background for the interpretation of the particular age in which they were interested. With the advance of historical thought, the mythological, the theological and the purely political interpretations were discarded, for a more comprehensive conception of history as being universal and embracing all phases of social life of humanity. The pursuit of this nobler ideal and the fulfilment of this great endeavour needs all the qualities of mind and the researches of knowledge and also to a certain extent a creative imagination which alone can transform the chaos of doubtful and irreconcilable facts into an intelligible cosmos of critical history.

4. Our own historians are faced with serious problems particularly in regard to the fixing of the chronology of the ancient period. Many of the old problems still await solution. When did the Aryans appear in India? When was the Mahabharata war fought? What is the exact date of Buddha's birth? What is the date of the Vikrama and Saka Eras? Who were their authors? What was the origin of Satavahana dynasty? What is the age of the Tamil Sanghams? These and numerous other crucial questions of history still await a final answer. In many cases the dates ascribed by both European and Indian Scholars differ very widely. Sometimes the difference is as wide as from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. These are indeed problems which have to await further discoveries and researches for a final solution. There is a tendency to rely too much on contemporary references and other forms of external evidence, and to disbelieve long-standing traditions in regard to the chronology of events if they are not supported otherwise. I venture to think that the whole question of external and corroborative evidence and its importance and value for arriving at correct conclusions, deserves to be reconsidered. Historical research, especially concerning our own country, has the fullest support of the Central and State Governments in our country. It is being promoted in the Universities as well as in various non-official organisations of scholars in various parts of India. I do not name any particular institution, because I do not desire to make invidious distinction. I pay my homage to all the scholars who are engaged in this pursuit of knowledge. It is for the historians of our country, for all of you distinguished scholars, to re-write a correct history of India free from all bias and also free from the tendency to exaggerate our national achievements from a false sense of patriotism. An impartial, correct, and at the same time a complete and comprehensive history of the panoramic and glorious history of our

country comprising the various life-movements and cultural processes that characterise the Indian people, has yet to be written, and I think this duty naturally falls on this august body.

5. Speaking of Kerala, I need not emphasise upon the importance of the history of this State. This land of Parasurama and Bali has its own traditional origin and a long and chequered history, various epochs of which still await detailed study. I may be pardoned if I say that except the Manual of Travancore by Shri Nagamiah and its later editions, and some other stray books, I have not been able to come across a book in English on the history of Kerala. I have no doubt that there is most valuable material which is available, and which has to be investigated for undertaking a project of this kind. I hope the historians of Kerala and the University will interest themselves in compiling a complete history of Kerala in English on such material as is available today. It would give a valuable account of the history of this beautiful land of Kerala.

6. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have already taken too much of your time and probably transgressed the limits of an inaugural address by indulging in general observations on the nature and philosophy of history. I crave your indulgence and thank you for the patience with which you have heard me. I have the greatest pleasure in inaugurating this session of the Indian History Congress and wish you all success in your deliberations. Thank you.

JAI HIND

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
Principal, Patna College, Patna University, Patna

Members of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Words fail to express adequately my feelings of gratefulness to you for the honour you have bestowed on me by electing me as the President of this session of the Indian History Congress. No one is more conscious than myself of my own limitations and unfitness for this exalted position. Your choice of one like myself is a kind act of recognition of the humble services of a student of history to the cause of historical studies and to the Indian History Congress since its inception. For discharging the duties of the position in which you have placed me today, I crave your wholehearted co-operation.

Before proceeding further I would seek your permission to offer my most respectful homage to the sacred memory of late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, who passed away from this world in May last. The late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar became a moral power in the world of historical scholarship and his exit creates a void. Through a long life of unflinching dedication to the cause of historical research of the highest quality, he inspired bands of scholars, and when he is no more he leaves behind him an imperishable legacy of inspiration for unnumbered generations.

"Let me not adumbrate myself through my own work,
"Let my life be a fulfilment of Thy mission,"

wrote Rabindranath in the first poem of his immortal *Gitānjali*.

Fulfilment of this mission is possible only through a spirit of silent but honest devotion to the cause we are called upon to serve and through elevation of our minds by sound humanistic studies of which history forms undoubtedly a very important branch. Much has already been said by eminent historians of different countries about the scope, meaning, nature and utility of historical studies. For certain reasons

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it has become necessary to reiterate and assert emphatically the role and importance of proper historical studies in the moulding of a nation's destiny.

In our new India of today when we have high hopes and aspirations and also tremendous responsibilities, and when we are planning the reconstruction of the different phases of life, historians have a sacred trust and obligation to reveal correctly the past of our country so that we can supply thereby the truest beacon-light for the onward march of our nation. We are living in a stirring epoch, marked by highly significant trends in revaluation of the values of life and by a phenomenal consciousness of cultural renaissance. Out of the tears and toils of millions of Indians has emerged an independent India under the spiritual leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest prophet of modern humanity. This revolution in our status as a nation holds promise of a renovated society in which relation between man and man would be based on ties of love and cordiality. For this social adjustment on lofty ideals and progress of our nationalism on the right lines, we must take into consideration the traditions of our ancient land. Justice Mahadev Govinda Ranade, one of the prophets of Modern Indian Renaissance, very significantly remarked : " The true reformer will not write on a clean slate. His work is, more often, to complete the half-written sentence." Swami Vivekananda, who represented a highly creative blending of the old and the new, and was full of optimism for India's progress, remarked with his usual insight : " Out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was.....out of consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India greater than she has been."

It is a pity that even now there is a gross misconception in certain quarters about the meaning and value of historical study. Some people very wrongly consider history to be a dry catalogue of political and military details. What Vinogradoff observed long ago (*Collected Papers*, Vol. I, p. 222) unfortunately holds good with regard to some even today. " It is not uncommon," he wrote, " in our days of superficial impressionism and unstable convictions to doubt the value of history. As the past never repeats itself exactly in the same way as before, modern sceptics come to discard its memories as useless stories. And yet history, if studied without prejudice, teaches the greatest lesson of all—to treat social life not as a mechanical combination, but as an organic process. We are constantly striving to shape and improve it, but it cannot be pulled to pieces and resettled at pleasure, because its roots are in the past and its functions stretch over centuries. Its growth and defects have to be studied in the light of social biology, social hygiene, social

pathology, not in that of social mechanics. This is why thoughtful men are instinctively or consciously attracted by the 'links with the past' which are so numerous in our everyday existence."

History is not a mere narrative of the kings or their courts and of the military generals and their battle-fields, but is indeed a faithful record of the manifold aspects (political, economic, social and cultural) of human civilisation as they unfold themselves in successive epochs. Writing in 1918 Gooch observed: "The scope of history has gradually widened till it has come to include every aspect of the life of humanity. No one would now dare to maintain with Seely that history was the biography of States and with Freeman that it was merely past politics. The growth of nations, the achievements of men of action, the rise and fall of parties remain among the most engrossing themes of the historians; but he now casts his net wider and embraces the whole record of civilisation. The influence of nature, the pressure of economic factors, the origin and transformation of ideas, the contribution of science and art, religion and philosophy, literature and law, the material conditions of life, the fortunes of the masses—such problems now claim his attention in no less degree. He must see life steadily and see it whole."

Happily, historians in our country have gradually realised this wider conception and scope of history and we have growing numbers of workers in the field of historical investigations into the varied conditions of the life of the people in this land in different periods. The reconstruction of our country's history on sound and rational lines is a supremely important task before us. Genius, sound judgment and mature experience of master-artists must be applied to the outcome of laborious and intensive researches of bands of enthusiastic and well-trained scholars for the preparation of a correct history of the conditions of life of the teeming millions of India from the days of remote antiquity, which would be free from misconceptions and much-trumpeted falsehoods or heresies due to bias, prejudices or ignorance. It is in the fitness of things that the history of a country should be written by its own historians, who are expected to have a better acquaintance with the old traditions, and their continuous streams, and also the changing environments of the successive epochs, than those of distant lands. Sometimes lack of proper idea of the inner spirit of our culture and the real trends of our social life has been responsible for their misrepresentation.

Several archæological excavations like those of Mahenjodāro and Harappā, at Lothāl, Hastināpur, some regions in Rājasthān and Mālwā, at Nāgarjunakondā, at Kausambī, in Bihār at Sonepur (Gayā), Rājgīr and Vaisālī, at Jaugada in Orissā, and at Pāhārpur, Māhāsthān and Bangaḍ in Bengal have resulted in the discovery of numerous relics of

our old civilisation, both for the proto-historic and historic periods, and have added to our knowledge regarding the material condition and culture of the people whose age is represented by the respective discoveries. Excavations at the "pre-pottery microlithic site at Birbhānpur in Burdwan district, West Bengal, successfully associated the microliths with the penultimate terrace of the Dāmodar river, thus establishing their comparatively high antiquity." (*Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57—*A Review*).

I am delighted to refer to the recent archæological excavations conducted by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under the distinguished guidance of my esteemed friend, Dr. A. S. Altekar. It first addressed itself to archæological excavations at Pāṭaliputra, the result of which showed that the Maurya Hall was destroyed not in the post-Gupta epoch but in c. 150 B.C., that the monastic structure of a courtyard, surrounded by rooms, had evolved as a result of the integration of smaller blocks of two or three rooms with a verandah in their front, and that Pāṭaliputra possessed monasteries-cum-sanatoria as described by the Chinese pilgrims. One of these structures was named Ārogyavihāra, as is proved by a seal. Excavations were carried out in the city of Patna also, where, near Sadar Gally under a metalled road, was discovered the square base of a round Mauryan polished pillar, the like of which had been so far unknown. This area is undoubtedly one of the administrative sites of the Mauryan period, but is so fully occupied by buildings as to render further excavations difficult and costly. In 1956-57 an excavation team of this Institute excavated a mound at Sonepur, three miles west of Belā Railway Station, on the bank of the Jamunāi river in the district of Gayā. As a result of it five successive periods were revealed. The limited quantity of pottery for the First Period consisted of the bowl, dish and vase in coarse black-and-red ware. The only other material, assigned to this period, was a crude sandstone bead. For the Second Period, besides the continuance of black-and-red ware, the other objects were bone points or styluses and a copper antimony-rod. Among the finds characterising the Third Period are N. B. P. ware with golden and silvery finish, beads of terracotta, glass, ivory and stone, a steatite weight, terracotta figurines of *nāgas* and other animal figurines with punched, stamped or notched circlets and nails, blades, etc. of iron. Some pottery-ovens and faint traces of mud-walls were found. The Fourth Period has been regarded as being essentially a continuation of the preceding one. Brick structures were found for the Fifth Period, the average size of the brick being $21'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. The other finds of the period were punch-marked and cast coins, beads and ear ornaments of terracotta, bangles of stone and terracotta, some sealings of terracotta, a terracotta bull, copper antimony-rods and stone celts. Periods One and Two have been dated back to earlier than 600 B.C. and Period Five has been brought down

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to 50 B.C. This year the Institute undertook excavations at Vaiśālī, the seat of authority of the renowned ancient Lichchhavi Republic, and it has brought to light some highly interesting remains of the past, which, in the opinion of Dr. Altekar, make " it almost certain " that the stupa he has found " is the one built by the Lichchhavis over their share of the relics of the Buddha and that the casket, most probably, contains the relics of the Blessed One."

In 1957 the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, brought to light paleoliths of series I and II in several terraces of the Shivna river in Mālwā, notably at Māndāsor. A few months back the Institute carried out some important excavations at Māheshwar in Madhya Pradesh. A team of workers from the Allahabad University explored an area between the Vindhyas and the Kaimur hills to the north of the Son river. Excavation of the mound of Chandraketugarh (District of 24 Paraganas), 23 miles from Calcutta, under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, revealed five stages of occupation, from the pre-Mauryan period to that of the Guptas (about 320 B.C. to 575 A.D.).

The rediscovery of our past started under the influence of modern Indian cultural renaissance, in the history of which the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Bengal in 1784, due to the initiative of Sir William Jones, a profoundly learned scholar and linguist, was a significant landmark. In his inaugural address, Sir William Jones described India as " a noble amphitheatre.....which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages as well as in the features and complexions of men." The object of the Asiatic Society was " enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts and sciences and literature of Asia," and it has been well fulfilled. Even in 1849 a writer thus estimated the value of its work : " To the fostering care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the world owes a large debt of knowledge on various subjects, that otherwise might have still remained in obscurity or have been lost to the world altogether. It afforded, and continues to afford, a stimulus to exertion, in order to rescue from oblivion, much that is worthy of the attention of rational beings, that has been preserved by means of the art of printing, to excite a spirit of philosophical enquiry in others." The Bombay Literary Society, started on the 26th November, 1804, under the guidance of Sir James Makintosh, who came to Bombay as the Chief Judge in 1803, and transformed in 1829 into the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, has also helped the cause of Indological researches considerably. The pioneers of the Deccan Education Society, which was started in 1884, and their worthy

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successors, have given much impetus towards the progress of cultural renaissance and the discovery of historical antiquities in western India. Highly commendable work in this respect can be deservedly attributed to the Viśvabhāratī of Rabindranath, the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, the Oriental Institute of Lahore, the Bihar Research Society of Patna, some of our Universities and to the Department of Archæology of the Government of India.

We owe a heavy debt to some British and continental scholars for their valuable researches in Indian history and culture, from the closing years of the eighteenth century, when in other ways dark clouds enveloped our national destiny. An Englishman significantly observed in 1845: "What Rousseau and his co-objectors achieved, by the emancipation of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals, which for unknown centuries had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight, the discovery of new and glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up, disclosing pearls of inestimable price." The pioneer European scholars of the pre-mid-nineteenth century and some of their learned successors transmitted Indian knowledge to the West, where it received considerable appreciation in certain quarters.

It is a matter of gratification that in revealing India's past, a galaxy of eminent Indian scholars made valuable contributions from about the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, but for the studies of scholars like Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, Rev. K. M. Banerjea,[1] Shri Bhagwan Lal Indraji, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, Shri Sarat Chandra Das, Shri Pratap Chandra Ghosh, Shri Umesh Chandra Batavyal, Shri Manmohan Chakravarty, Shri Rakhaldas Banerjee, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and several others down to our own days, a proper study of the ancient period of our country's history would have been impossible.

As for the Medieval period we have to the credit of some of our own distinguished scholars a good number of useful original studies, including general histories, provincial histories, biographies and monographs of other kinds. We are particularly indebted for this to the Aligarh University which has continued to foster researches on various topics relating to this period and has also taken fruitful steps to re-edit

1. In the selections of papers read at the meetings of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge from 1840 to 1848, there were two papers contributed by Rev. K. M. Benerjea, *viz*: (1) On the Nature and Importance of Historical Studies, (2) Reform, Civil and Social, among Educated Natives.

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some old works as also to secure originals or transcripts or photostats of contemporary historical works of different categories. By starting publication of re-edited volumes of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by her own Historians*, this University has taken a very useful step, and we hope that it will duly fulfil our expectations by publishing all the volumes.

It would be ever a matter of pride and a source of profound inspiration for us to remember that our country produced the greatest historian of what we call Mughal India—the late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar. Students of history would always consider his monumental volumes as precious gifts for them as also for others who feel interest in knowing correctly the history of our country. His admirable volumes on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* are full of reflective interpretations containing significant lessons for proper training of the human minds in a period of transition. He observes in the *Foreword* to Volume One of this work, which covers the period from 1739 to 1754 : " And yet our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor it is wanting in the deepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of detail as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past." In the last chapter of Volume Four, this 'Bengali Gibbon', as Henry Beveridge called him in 1922, presents a critical analysis of the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire. He significantly observes : " The Mughal Empire, and with it the Maratha overlordship of Hindustan, fell because of the rottenness of core of Indian society. The rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile : the nobles were selfish and short-sighted ; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion our literature, art, and even true religion had perished."

The eighteenth century is one of the most tragic periods in the history of our country, characterised by national insolvency in almost all respects. Gradual collapse of Mughal imperial authority, roughly speaking from the early years of the eighteenth century, afforded scope for the rise of highly disintegrating forces, which accelerated the country's tragic doom. Dreadful political turmoils, selfish group rivalries, bitter court intrigues, brutal crimes and horrors awfully distracted the country during this period, caused a breakdown of its administration, impaired its defence, and produced a widespread social anarchy.

Both the later Mughal Emperors and the nobility were utterly degenerated and oblivious of the real interests of the State. Just as an individual, devoid of strength of character, inevitably falls a victim to ignoble influences and temptations, so a State, whose rulers do not possess sufficient strength of character or ability to govern and whose administration becomes consequently corrupt and ineffective, lies prostrate before uncontrollable forces within or attacks from outside. Ghulam Hussain, author of the famous contemporary history in Persian, entitled *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, makes the following poignant but apt comment: "Hence the guards being ill-paid abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited the invaders, and the report of the Ministers' indifference and the weakness of Government being rumoured everywhere, everyone without fear of control thought only of the personal interests without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected everyone passed and repassed unobserved, no intelligence was forwarded to Court (of Delhi) of what was happening and neither the Emperor nor the nobles ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears." In a feeling of frustration he uses a more severe language of indictment in writing: "It was in such an enfeebled state of the Empire, that there arose a new sort of men, who far from setting up the patterns of piety and virtue, or pretending to show the right way to others, squandered away the lives and properties of the poor with so much barefacedness that other men, on beholding their conduct, became bolder and bolder and practised the worst and ugliest actions, without fear or remorse; so far they are from thinking it a shame or an infamy to emulate and follow such examples. From these sprung an infinity of evildoers who plague the Indian world and grind the face of the wretched inhabitants. It is in consequence of such wretched administrations that every part of Hind has gone to ruin, and its discouraged inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself is become distastement to most."

Foreign domination comes almost as an inevitable nemesis of a country's internal bankruptcy. Poland in the eighteenth century being a weak state with a vitiated body politic paid a heavy price in the annihilation of her independent existence. China in the 19th century is a strong case in point. Decadent Manchu rule, demoralized administration, lack of sound governance, and recurring internal rebellions aggravated the woes of China, once a fair land of high culture and civilisation, subjected her to defeat and humiliation at the hands of Japan in 1894-1895, and exposed her to the new imperialism of the western powers, which cut her into pieces like a big melon.

Internal disunion, which followed as a natural sequel to the debased state of affairs then prevailing in India, gnawed at her national vitality and proved to be the major factor in helping the establishment of foreign

rule. Commenting on the ruinous effects of domestic hostility on Rome, the celebrated Laureat, Petrarch, exclaimed : " Behold the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness ! neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of the stupendous destruction which was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons, and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-run, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword." Referring to India since the mid-eighteenth century, Malcolm, with lot of experience about Indian affairs, frankly wrote : " The want of union of the natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power ; it has certainly contributed beyond all others to its establishment." Already several years back, Watts, who knew much about mid-eighteenth century Bengal politics, had observed that in the court of Sirājuddaulah " the only oracle that everyone consulted was self-interest." The French adventurer, Jean Law, exclaimed before the historian Ghulām Hussain in April, 1759 : " I have travelled everywhere from Bengal to Delhi, but nowhere have I found anything from anyone except oppression of the poor and plundering of wayfarers. Whenever I wanted that one of these famous potentates, like Shujā, Imād and their peers, out of a regard for honour or a desire for the regulation of the Government, should undertake to put in order the affairs of Bengal and suppress the English (usurpers of that province), not one of them felt any inclination to this task. They did not once weigh in their minds praiseworthiness or shame of their conduct...The Indian nobles are a set of disorderly inconsistent blockheads, who exist solely for ruining a world of people." Shāh Ālam II expressed in 1768 : " Through the perfidiousness of the nobility and vassals, this anarchy has arisen and everyone proclaims himself a sovereign in his own place and they are at variance with one another, the strong prevailing over the weak."

Besides the onslaughts of British political imperialism, India was confronted at this time with the new forces generated by the Industrial Revolution and the demands of the new-born capitalism of the West, which found outlets for its growing ambition and enterprises in India through the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833. All this, along with the disorders caused by the quickly succeeding political revolutions here from the mid-eighteenth century, the baneful influences of the oppressions committed on the indigenous merchants and manufacturers by the unscrupulous servants of the East India Company, and the growing drain on India's resources in various forms, gave a rude shock to her old economy, which had been characterised by a fair co-ordination between agriculture and industries of diverse kinds, and doomed her to a pathetic economic decline causing general impoverishment of the people of the country.

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From an agricultural as well as manufacturing country, India was reduced very much to the position of a raw materials-supplying country to feed the growing industries of England. Burke had already foreseen the effects of the policy and had written that " its effect must be to change the whole face of that industrious country in order to render it a field for the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain." The Select Committee, appointed in 1765 to investigate into the state of affairs in Bengal at that time, made the following observation regarding it in 1767 : " We beheld a presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money and service without subordination, discipline or public spirit...amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression." " It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think," observed Richard Becher, an experienced servant of the English in Bengal, in his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th May, 1769, " that since the accession of the Company to the *Diwani* the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before ; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted;.....this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards ruin." Warren Hastings' reforms were singularly unsuccessful in remedying the evils. Cornwallis wrote in a letter to the Court of Directors on the 2nd August, 1789, that " agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining, that at present, excepting the class of shroffs and *benias*..... the inhabitants of these provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness." Henry St. George Tucker, who with considerable experience of Indian affairs became a Director of the East India Company, observed in 1823 : " What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India ? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets and of late, particularly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually exported our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country." Karl Marx rightly remarked in 1853 : " Till 1813 India had been chiefly an exporting country, while it now became an importing one and in such a quick progression that already in 1828 the rate of exchange which had generally been 2*s*. 6*d*. per rupee sank down to 2*s*. per rupee. India, the great workshop of cotton manufacture for the world since immemorial times, became now inundated

with English twists and cotton stuffs. After its own produce had been excluded from England or only admitted on the most cruel terms, British manufactures were poured into it at a small or merely nominal duty to the ruin of the native cotton fabric once so celebrated." We may note here the following significant comment in a passage of Cowper :

> " Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast
> Exported slavery to the conquered East,
> Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
> And raised thyself, a greater in their stead ?
> Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full,
> Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
> A despot big with power ordained by wealth,
> And that obtained by rapine and by stealth ?
> With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
> But left their virtues and thine own behind ;
> And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
> To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee ? "

I have made an attempt to present to my co-workers in the field of historical studies and to others a critical review of the works of Indian scholars on the history of modern India, roughly speaking from the middle of the eighteenth century, in my book, entitled *Recent Studies on Modern Indian History*, which was published about a year back. Nothing much can be usefully added to it now. I would, however, most humbly solicit your indulgence to submit before you, as a student of history, some observations and views regarding further studies in the hope that these will receive your kind consideration, and more concerted efforts than what were made before would help the progress of sound historical studies in India and elsewhere.

Conscious and concerted efforts of our fraternity have become all the more necessary to arrest in time the most discouraging practice at some places to relegate historical studies to a minor position in the curricula at different stages. It shocks me very much when I notice how this has already begun to produce harmful effects on the minds of our youths. It is tragic indeed that by not being required to read history, particularly of their own country, even at the secondary stage, they are forgetting very much the culture and ideals which our land magnificently upheld for centuries to the benefit of humanity. They are being driven from their moorings into a whirlpool of confusion and chaos. I would like to strike a note of warning in this respect and would appeal to all concerned to see that study of the history of our country and also the history of other important countries becomes compulsory for all our youths, so that they are saved from proceeding along wrong tracks.

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Lack of encouragement and suitable arrangements for study of history would produce deplorable results by denuding human society of those virtues, the possession of which makes a man a man in the true sense of the term. One great utility of the study of history is that it provides a training for human mind by bringing to bear on the present the lessons which can be derived from the glories or pitfalls and the achievements or failures of the past. It broadens our vision, rationalises our outlook, promotes correct understanding of the community of man in different ages and helps the development of attitudes of sympathy and fellowship by removing ignorance about others, particularly in these days of widening world contact.

Further, for the proper study of almost all the subjects in what we call the Faculty of Arts, *viz.*, Literature, Philosophy, Political Science, Economics, a basic knowledge of history is absolutely necessary. Prof. G. M. Trevelyan very rightly observes in his thought-provoking booklet, entitled *History and the Reader*: "The older I get and the more I observe the tendencies and conditions of our latter day, the more certain I become that history must be the basis of humane (that is non-scientific) education in the future. Without some knowledge of history, other doors will remain closed, or at least ajar. For example, the reading of poetry or prose literature, other than current books, must rest on some knowledge of the times past when the older books were written..... Literature and history are twin sisters, inseparable."

We have yet before us the stupendous task of preparing a true, impartial, comprehensive and all-sided history of our people. With grateful recognition of the importance of what has already been accomplished in this direction, I feel the need of more zealous efforts to discover raw materials of history from hidden corners and to save them from the ravages of time, climate, insects and human ignorance, in order to solve some controversies about dates and sequence of events, to fill up the hiatus between this period and that, and to throw sufficient light on the thoughts, ideals, art, literature, social life and economic condition of our people in different periods.

You will pardon me for venturing to say that more of archæological discoveries and co-related studies by correct decipherment of the script found on seals, tablets, pottery, stamps and graffite are needed to establish with certainty the date and antiquity of the Indus Valley civilisation and its relation to the Aryans and to what has been called the Vedic civilisation. Referring to the subsequent periods, I may mention that we require more light to be thrown on some of the early eras relating to the history of north-eastern India. The dates of Kanishka and of the other Kushān kings are still uncertain. Our knowledge about the original homes of the Sātavāhanas and also of

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some important South Indian dynasties like the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Chalukyas, the Rāshṭrakuṭas and the Gangas and of the starting points of their supremacy is still imperfect. Many points in the history of the period from 647 to 1206 A.D. appear to be obscure and await further elucidation.

The historical works for the period extending from 1206 to 1526 have been mostly on the political aspect. Economic and socio-cultural aspects have not yet received adequate attention. Further researches on the contemporary Religious movements, on Literature and on Arts deserve to be very carefully and systematically conducted. Thus, as I believe, a student of history would be able to understand that though the mediæval period was characterised by bitter conflicts in the political field, genial and creative currents of thought flowed beneath the surface and in the spheres which reflect the mind of the man there were features of a grand assimilation. Critical studies on the social life and economic transactions of the people in this period are overdue.

Contemporary historical works in Persian like Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Minhāzuddīn Sirāj, Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Ziāuddīn Barani, Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf, Fatuhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of one anonymous author, Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Ta'rikh-i-Gujrāt of Abū Turāb Walī, Burhān-i-Maāsir of 'Alī Samnāni, and some others and accounts of foreign travellers like Ibn Batutah, Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzāq, Paes and Barbosa are no doubt valuable sources for the history of this period.

An additional important source is inscription from which definite evidence can be obtained on important points. We may note that besides the contributions in the *Ephigraphia Moslemica* and a few books on inscriptions of Hindu States in Southern India, some efforts have recently been made to discover and decipher a number of inscriptions.

During 1956-57, the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Archæological Department studied about one hundred and fifty inscriptions, the more important ones of which may be mentioned here. An inscription from Cambay, Kaira District, records the construction of a Jami mosque by Daulat Shāh Mohammad al-Butahari, dated 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) in the reign of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. It helps us in fixing the date of succession of that ruler. Another inscription of Mohammad Shāh from Petlad, Kaira District, refers to the construction of a well or water-tank by a lady named Kad Bānu, wife of Irān Shāh and daughter of Sayyid Shamsuddin Yāsin al-Alawi Tabataba in 781 A.H. (1381 A.D.). Four inscriptions of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, all from Cambay, have been noticed. The earliest of these, dated 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.), mentions the title of a noble, *viz.*

Malik Quaran Khwān, the Kotwāl of Cambay, who built a mosque there. The three other epigraphs, dated 782 A.H. (1380 A.D.), 787 A.H. (1385 A.D.), and 807 A.H. (1405 A.D.) respectively also mention the names of some officers and other persons in connection with the construction of mosques.

Some of the inscriptions relate to the Sultans of Gujrāt. The inscription of Sultan Ahmad I from Patan, dated 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.) attributes the construction of a mosque to Jamāluddin Bihamad, probably the Governor of the District. Another inscription of the same ruler from Cambay mentions the repair of a mosque by him at the suggestion of Malikul Umra Malik Marjan in 831 A.H. (1427 A.D.). In an inscription of Muzaffar II from Cambay, dated 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.), we get details of taxes abolished by royal orders for the relief of the inhabitants of, and travellers to, the district of Cambay. An inscription from Ahmadābād mentions two kings, Qutbud Dunyā Wad-Dīn Abul Muzzaffar Bahādur Shāh, during whose reign in 940 A.H. (1534 A.D. the construction of a step-well began, and Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd III, during whose reign in 946 A.H. (1539-40 A.D.) it was completed. It is in this inscription that we get for the first time the titles of Bāhādur Shāh in full.

A bilingual inscription of 'Alāuddin Shāh Bahmani, belonging to the State Museum, Hyderābād, and dated 848 A.H. (1444 A.D.), refers to the construction of a step-well by Makhduma-i-Jahān Bibi Shahnaz, mother of Khān-i-Muazzam Mahmūd Khān. An inscription referring to the construction of a mosque in 877 A.H. (1472-73 A.D.) by Malik Tāj, son of Kaila, mentions the contemporary Khāndesh ruler as " the great Khān and illustrious Khānqān 'Adil Khān ' and not as 'Adil Shāh. Two Qutb Shāhi inscriptions, both of the reign of Sultan Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, mention the construction of mosques. A number of miscellaneous inscriptions are epitaphs of some famous men, who died at Cambay during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The September-December, 1930, issue of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (now Bihar Research Society) published an article on *Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna* by Mr. Syed Muhammad. In 1932 M. Hamid Quraishi wrote a note correcting a few inaccuracies in the decipherment of some of these inscriptions. Subsequently the untiring zeal of my esteemed colleague, Professor S. H. Askari, in this respect has brought to light several important inscriptions relating to this period and some for the period of the great Mughals in different parts of Bihar. I would like to refer in this connection to his critical review of many important inscriptions in his article *A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period*, published in *The Current Studies* of the Patna College for the year 1954. My friend

Prof. R. K. Chowdhary of G. D. College, Begusarai, Monghyr, discovered in 1955 at Begusarai a rare Arabic inscription of the reign of Ruknuddīn Kaikāus of Bengal, 1291-1301 A.D. This is the first epigraph of the early Sultanate period yet discovered in North Bihar. A Research Fellow of mine, Shri Brahmadeo Prasad Ambastha, has just discovered some important inscriptions in the Patna, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts. Let me hope that much more of epigraphic evidence would be discovered and utilised to enhance our knowledge regarding this period.

For the history of about two hundred and thirty years from 1526 highly learned contributions on the political and administrative aspects have been made by some eminent Indian scholars. But for economic, social and cultural aspects our knowledge is still meagre. For social history there are only a few unpublished theses besides a very limited number of published books. For economic history, the works of Moreland, though of much worth, require revision in the light of information that can be collected from new sources. For the first half of the eighteenth century, besides a few chapters in late Dr. Balkrishna's book, entitled *Commercial Relations between India and England and Industrial Decline of India*, I can mention only one modern original work, namely, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740* (published in 1954) by Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya.

As regards the sources for the study of this period, carefully planned regional surveys by well-trained and faithful explorers will yet yield a rich harvest in the shape of hitherto unknown manuscripts of historical and literary value, and *firmāns* and *sanads* containing plenty of new information regarding administrative and economic aspects. Our searches in Bihar have enabled us to collect in the course of the last few years more than five hundred *firmāns* and *sanads* of much importance and some original manuscripts which are stored in the library of Patna University. I have pointed out the importance of a number of such records in an article published in an issue of the *Historical Journal* of the Nagpur University. I am tempted to urge that our Universities and learned Institutes should duly arrange for such work and Governments should help it with generous subsidy. Otherwise, these precious documents might disappear at the cost of truth and knowledge.

For a true social history, depicting the inner life of the people, religious as well as secular literature of both the periods mentioned above must be critically and exhaustively studied. Literature is indeed the mirror of a country's life for the period in which it flourishes. A poet, a novelist or an essayist cannot but be influenced by the ideas, tendencies and environments of his age, and his works are bound to reflect these to a large extent. Trevelyan has very fruitfully studied

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the literature of the different periods in the history of England for writing his valuable work on the social history of his country. A student of the social history of Bengal in the sixteenth century cannot afford to ignore Mukundarāma's *Kavikankan Chandī* and for a student of the social history of Northern India in this age Tulsīdās's *Rāmcharitmānas* is a source of great value. For understanding the activities and influence of the Sufis in Northern India, exhaustive and critical study of *Maktubāts* and *Malfuzāts* (collections of letters and sayings) of the mystics, *Diwāns* (collections of mystic poems), and *Taḍhkirahs* or biographies of the adherents of various *silsilās* or orders is absolutely necessary.

It is gratifying that increasing numbers of scholars are devoting themselves to the study of the modern period of Indian history on the basis of original sources. In fact, abundance of materials sometimes confuses a student of Modern Indian History. He has to exercise considerable judgment for a proper selection and scrutiny of the voluminous published as well as unpublished records in organised Archives or in District offices.

The little that I have studied with regard to this period strengthens my conviction that its rewriting is a pressing need for our scholars, as the discovery of fresh materials in various languages is disclosing the inaccuracy of many previously accepted views and interpretations. But at the same time we must be cautious against the unhistorical attitude of patterning history in tune with this or that point of view. For a student of history there is no other oracle than the oracle of conscience and no other objective so noble and high as a correct unfolding of a country's history in the broadest sense of the term. History made to order would amount to a regrettable travesty of truth causing more harm than good to mankind. Truth must be enshrined on the eternally bright and glorious pedestal to help elevation of human minds and development of closer links between man and man.

For political history of India, roughly speaking from the mid-eighteenth century, I can think of certain subjects on which further or fresh studies are desirable. One may attempt to write a critical and impartial biography of Sirājuddaulah by utilising exhaustively all available materials in various languages. Similar works may be prepared on some important personalities, who were closely associated with the political affairs of those days. For example, original studies on the careers of men like Durlabhrām, Rājā Nand Kumār, Shitāb Roy and his son Kalyan Singh, Muhammad Rezā Khān and some others will throw additional light on contemporary politics in Northern India, and such studies on personalities like Muhammad Alī, Chandā Sāheb, Nizām Alī and some others will supplement our knowledge of the history of

Southern India in those years of rapid political changes. Relations between Benares and the English East India Company from about 1759 till the close of the eighteenth century require further elucidation. Writing of detailed histories of the different Indian States, which entered into subsidiary alliances with the East India Company, may be profitably undertaken to illustrate the process of the expansion of the British Empire in India during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first fifty-six years of the nineteenth century. From Wellesley's subsidiary alliances to Dalhousie's annexations there is a continuous process.[1]

India's relations with Nepal, Tibet, Afghānistān, Persia and other regions of the Middle East, and with the different countries of South-East Asia, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century till our own days, deserve to be studied in detail with unbiased attitude. The Indian Council of World Affairs and the Institute of International Affairs, both located in New Delhi, are making laudable efforts to encourage such studies, which can be profitably supplemented by suitable steps taken by our Universities.

To foster among our youths a sense of disinterested intellectual devotedness helping their self-evaluation in relation to others is an imperative need today. Intellectual isolationism is an obstacle to progress and causes stagnation. If we desire to know rightly the history of our own country in all its aspects in modern times, we must pay due attention to the significant political changes and the great movements in contemporary epochs in other countries of the world. The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of Americ Independence and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had sig ficant repercussions on contemporary Indian politics. Plassey Wandiwash were intimately connected with the Seven Years' W Similarly, during the nineteenth century and for some years beyo that, course of European politics exercised much influence in reshuffli political relations among the Asiatic powers. The main events whi determined these relations were the eastern ambitions of Russia and h designs in Asia, particularly since the treaty of Gulistān, conclud between Russia and Persia in 1813, and also French colonial ambiti in the last three decades of this century. The tremendous effects the two World Wars on India can be studied in minutest details wi reference to varied topics.

The Industrial Revolution of the West, since the middle of t eighteenth century, was a highly potential movement generating ne forces destined to transform the relations between man and man i

1. I may mention incidentally that a research scholar of mine is preparin a thesis on the History of Oudh from 1798 to 1856.

different spheres of activities and to mould the destiny of the various countries of the East also, including India. The effects of the Industrial Revolution on India's economy were very significant and they are yet to be exhaustively studied. The Charter Acts of 1793, 1813, 1833 were, to a very large extent, the result of the new economic factors, which were responsible for economic transition in India in those days. Commercial relations of India since then with U.S., China, and the various countries of South-East Asia are important subjects for study.

Though I do not agree at all with the view that the history of modern India is but a history of the British in India, I must admit the remarkable influence of the new education, political thought and scientific knowledge of the modern West on Indian minds. Yet there is another side of the picture which we must try to understand fairly in this age of growing international contact. This is necessary in order to make a correct assessment of renaissant India's contributions to the stock of World's thought and culture. I have already noted how from the closing years of the eighteenth century, when India was passing through a period of agony due to vicissitudes in her political destiny and havoc on her economy, Inida's civilisation and ancient lore made a splendid appeal to bands of European scholars. "I fell in love with India," observed Max Muller. He wrote in the preface to his work, entitled *Rammohan to Ramkrishna* : "Though I have had but visions of the rivers, the mountains, the valleys, the forests and the men and women of India, having never been allowed to visit that earthly paradise, I have known for many years the beauties of its literature, and bold flights of its native philosophy, the fervid devotion of its ancient religion, and these together seem to me to give much truer picture of what India really was, and is still meant to be, in the history of the world, than the Bazars of Bombay or the Durbars of Rajas and Maharajas at Delhi." While delivering a course of lectures at Cambridge in 1882, Max Muller observed in his first lecture on "*What India can teach us*"?—"Is there not an inward and intellectual world also which has to be studied in its historical development, from the first appearance of predicative and demonstrative roots, their combination and differentiation, leading up to the beginning of rational thought in its steady progress from the lowest to the highest stages? And in that study of the history of the human mind, in that study of ourselves, of our true selves, India occupies a place second to no other country. Whatever sphere of human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philospohy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere, you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most, instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only."

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The stream of Indian culture flowed to other countries, through another channel, to irrigate human minds there. This was rehabilitated and enriched by the great apostles of awakened India like Rammohan, Ramkrishna, Vivekanand, Rabindranath, Aurobindo, and Mahatma Gandhi. Imbued with the true spirit of Indian culture, they were not only its best interpreters to the modern world but also ardent prophets of universal fellowship. In the post-Napoleonic period of world history when the reactionary statesmen, assembled at the Vienna Congress or organising the so-called Holy Alliance, were trying in vain to preserve the crumbling edifice of the *ancient regime* against the irresistible forces bequeathed by the Revolution of 1789 and Napoleon I, Rammohan had a conception of internationalism of the right type: In an intended communication to the Foreign Minister of France, dated 1831, he expressed: "It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiassed common sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are but one great family of which numerous nations and tribes are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment to the whole human race." With profound knowledge of the important classical languages of the East and the West and with abiding conviction in greatness and sublimity of India's old culture, Rammohan also felt the dynamic potentiality of the new education and thought of the West, and advocated a real synthesis of culture, so that out of this grand fusion might emanate creative forces for the benefit of his own countrymen and also the people of other countries. Referring to this aspect of Rammohan's personality, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu wrote in her unique style: "For us, Indians, the river is the true symbol of our civilisation, the river that moves and moves with its epic rhythm towards the sea, carrying the tidings of life and freedom to the world. And Raja Rammohan Roy conveyed the message of this great civilisation to the world. He had no exclusion. He had the all-inclusiveness which is characteristic of the universal quality of the Mission of India."

With universalism as its most striking feature, the Ramkrishna Mission has proved to be a highly potent agency for the diffusion of Indian culture to the modern world. Swami Vivekanand wrote to a disciple from London on the 20th September, 1896: "You must not forget that my interests are international and not India alone." He observed before a disciple in India in 1897: "The Universal teachings that he (Shri Ramkrishna) offered, if spread all over the world, will do good to humanity and to the world." In the address delivered by him at Madras on his return from the first visit to the West, he said, "Spirituality must conquer the world. Slowly they are finding out

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that what they want is spirituality to preserve them as nations ... The whole of the Western world is on a volcano which may burst tomorrow, go to pieces tomorrow. They have searched every corner of the world and have found no respite. They have drunk deep of the cup of pleasure and found it vanity. Now is the time to work so that India's spiritual ideas may penetrate deep into the West."

Probably no one else has left for the world such inspiring messages for promotion of human brotherhood as Rabindranath. In his numerous poems he has emphasised the cosmopolitan nature of Indian culture with its immense assimilative potentiality and the marvellous role it has to play in reshaping human outlook throughout the world.

The saint-patriot of India, Shri Aurobindo, said in 1909 : " Our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is unity of brothers and freemen that we seek, not the unity of master and serf, of devourer and devoured." In his message on the inaguration of Indian Independence on the 15th August, 1947, Shri Aurobindo observed : "August 15 is the birthday of free India. It marks for her the end of the old era, the beginning of a new age. But it has significance not only for us but for Asia and the whole world, for it signifies the entry into the comity of nations of a new power with untold potentialities which has a great part to play in determining the political, social and cultural future of humanity."

The greatest prophet of modern humanity, Mahatma Gandhi, expressed : " I do want to think in terms of the whole world. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general. Therefore my service of India includes the service of humanity." " Patriotism based on hatred," he held, " killeth " and " patriotism based on love giveth life." He had supreme optimism that the truest panacea for the ills of the bewildered and tormented world lay through right-mindedness, liberalism and humanitarian attitudes, for the diffusion of which free India was destined to play a significant role. " India awakened and free," he said, "has a message of peace and good-will to give to a groaning world." I would appeal to our scholars of today to pay due attention towards this international aspect of modern Indian history.

At the same time, the importance of making detailed and intensive original studies on local history of the different parts of India cannot be overestimated. A general history of India as a whole cannot be properly written, unless, as a fruit of the researches of bands of enthusiastic scholars, the details of local histories are fairly known to us. Take, for example, the history of the Indian Movement of 1857-59. From what I have tried to read and write about it, I have a definite opinion

that more materials about it are to be discovered from various sources, official as well as non-official, in different regions. The sumtotal of knowledge based on these is to be utilised for its study as an Indian movement with reference to the whole country.

A word of caution for writers of local histories. It is absolutely necessary for them to be on their guard against feelings of local parochialism and narrowness, which sometimes cloud our reason and dwarf our judgment. Undue glorification or unmerited villification is equally antagonistic to historical research of the right type. Both trample on truths and foster falsehoods.

One great need for effective utilisation of historical records relating to our country in various languages is proper arrangement for their study by young scholars when they are initiated into research work. Researches on the history of early or later mediæval periods of Indian history, without the knowledge of Persian or Marāthī or Rājasthanī, cannot produce fruitful results. Similarly, knowledge of Portuguese, French and Dutch should be regarded as an essential pre-requisite for original studies on the modern period. It may not be possible for one to study many languages ; in that case proper guidance of persons having knowledge of this or that language and also at least a general knowledge of history should be secured. A mere linguist without knowledge of history sometimes gives incorrect renderings.

Research workers in our country have Himalayan handicaps before them. One of these is the difficulty of getting access into original manuscripts or other records, which are scattered in different parts of it and many of which are at places outside it. Some fortunate few may have the opportunities for journeys abroad to study records in foreign lands. But many have not the means or opportunities even to move for this from one part of India to another, though they may have in them genuine urge for research. It is only the Governments, the Universities and well-financed learned Institutes which can lend due assistance to the research workers under their auspices to overcome this difficulty by arranging to place at their disposal transcripts, photostat copies or microfilmed copies of such records. We are anxiously waiting to know what has been the result of our efforts to secure our historical records from what was called till recently the India Office. To bring them here would be a definitely well-calculated and salutary step. It is a matter of real anxiety for students of history that many old texts and books have gone out of print and are not available. It is high time that suitable steps were taken in proper quarters for the reprinting of such works to enable scholars to utilise these. Otherwise, a very important source of the stream of knowledge would dry up.

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We are grateful to the National Archives of India and the Indian Historical Records Commission for their works of inestimable value in collecting, preserving, editing, cataloguing and indexing old records of historical importance. A few volumes in the series of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* have come out. Students of history are anxiously awaiting the quick publication of the other volumes, which, we hope, would be expedited. It is gratifying that the National Archives have recently brought out Volume One of *Index to the Foreign and Political Department Records* 1756-1780. Organised Record Offices in some States and Regional Records Survey Committees are doing useful work in their respective areas.

But still we have not satisfactorily solved the various problems relating to the storage and study of our old records in the Divisions and Districts. In many places records are kept not under proper scientific conditions, their use is not regulated by the due cannons of Archives and sometimes non-experts take the fancy to publish some of these without proper selection or editing. All this is unacademic and undesirable. No time should be lost in shifting our valuable and irreplaceable records of historical value from the local areas to a centrally-organised Archives in each State, placed under the guidance of a qualified Director. All publications from such records should be arranged by proper planning with expert advice and help, in conformity with the general plans of publication sponsored by the Indian Historical Records Commission. Faulty reproduction of old records with indifferent and careless editing, or no editing at all, is a highly risky practice, which should be discouraged and stopped by all lovers of truth.

On the abolition of the Zamindaries or other intermediaries for land revenue collection, their records containing valuable historical information should be made available for the sake of knowledge by regular salvaging, collection and storage of these. Most of the members of the territorial aristocracy had with them old family papers, *sanads, firmans* or grants of other kinds, the proper study of which, as I can assert from my personal experience, would reveal many interesting and important details for political, administrative and economic history of the respective areas to which they refer. Some members of them possessed also good personal libraries with rich collections of manuscripts or rare books and copies of some State papers. All these had indeed their utility and value from the point of view of family interest. Should not these be thrown open to academic use for services of the community of man?

In the task of rescuing records from oblivion, decay or loss, the post-graduate students of our Universities can render useful services. They should be made more research-minded by being encouraged to study original sources as far as practicable, and also to collect these,

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whenever they get opportunities for it, in their own rural areas. I have often thought why our Universities should not have something like a practical test for about one-fourth of an M.A. paper; credit in which would rest on the students' acquaintance with local records. This would also help to develop in them a spirit of enquiry and foster discipline, of which there is very great need to accelerate the progress of our new and free India.

Freedom has a supreme charm and also tremendous responsibility. "Freedom is the English subjects' Prerogative," said Dryden, and this view was well cited by Wilkes, an advocate of British constitutionalism, in his attack on Lord Bute in the famous No. 45 of the North Briton. We can well say that freedom of opinion is the prerogative of every student of history, for the conscientious and judicious exercise of which he must have a perfectly disciplined mind with unflinching regard for truth and uprightness and not uncritically and unhesitatingly servile to reactionary influences or benumbing inconsistencies. We cannot forget the following inspiring words of Rabindranath:

"May wisdom ever remain free and unfettered.
May devotion kiss nobody's feet on earth through fear;
May all noble endeavours brook no opposition
From any power whatever;
May the soul flow towards Thee day and night,
With all its might in unimpeded current,
Breaking all barriers.
May it be ever writ large on the heart:
It will be an insult to Thee,
If I allow that to be snatched away
Which thou has given me in trust."

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

S. K. Saraswati

Friends and Colleagues,

It is with mixed feelings of joy as well as woe that I have agreed to accept the high position that the Indian History Congress has called me to occupy. I feel grateful to the Executive Committee of the Congress for this kind and generous act, deeply conscious, as I am, of the honour they have done me. When the call came, I frankly confess, as a normal human being I felt certainly a little pleased. At the same time, I am not unaware of my own limitations, and this sense causes me, again, an extreme embarrassment. Nevertheless, I prize the honour more than I deserve, particularly as it offers me the opportunity of meeting you, my distinguished fellow-workers. In this congenial atmosphere I hope to profit by your wise deliberations and crave for your sympathetic co-operation to guide and direct me to make the business of this Section a success.

We meet this year under shadows of deaths. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, Sir John Hubert Marshall and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, three stalwarts who had done much to unravel India's past, passed away during this one year. You are all familiar with the outstanding nature of the contributions that each had made in his special field or fields of study. Acharya Jadunath, though his works do not pertain to our period, has set among us a high standard of historical scholarship that transcends the bounds of age or period, and the best way to remember him is to cultivate and emulate that standard. Historical and archæological studies, directly concerning our period, have suffered immensely by the deaths of Marshall and Vogel. For many years the Director-General of Archæology in India, Marshall had been singly responsible for much of what we know today of ancient India. An archæologist, numismatist, art-historian and classical scholar, he had shown rare abilities as a careful and scientific investigator and a critical and sober interpreter, with a phenomenal mastery over the intricate and often complex data, as archæological data invariably are. Vogel was equally eminent in the varied branches of Indological studies. His philological and linguistic equipment enabled him further to make

notable contributions in the spheres of Indian epigraphy and iconography. All three died old in years and honours, and each, you will agree, is personally mourned by every scholar devoted to historical investigations. They hailed from different parts of the globe; but these veterans had one bond in common, and that is their desire to know India in all her facets by pursuing a path of meticulous and scientific investigation. Their lives and works, I have no doubt, will act as sources of inspiration to all seekers of historical truth.

Ancient India, until recently divided into two sections, has now been merged into one. The Section now covers the history of several millenniums, recorded as well as unrecorded. The scope, you will realise, is a vast one, and the problems as well as the modes of our investigations are necessarily varied and different. The past, especially the remote one, lies buried underground and it requires a specialised technical knowledge to dig it up and to correlate and interpret the evidences thus laid bare. It is gratifying to note the splendid work that the Department of Archæology of Government of India and the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute of Poona have been doing for the last few years with regard to the pre-history and proto-history of India. Such works have immensely enriched our knowledge and enlarged our vision of Indian history. Thanks to the patient labours of a body of able and trained scholars, many a brick has been added to the structure of our pre-history, and the gaps in the continuum between pre-history and early history are being steadily filled up. The pre-history of India, I hope I am not wrong in saying, has now acquired a definite shape and its relations with early history have been established. Investigations in pre-history depend entirely upon archæology and pre-historic archæology constitutes a highly technical and specialised branch of study. To give it the emphasis it deserves in investigations concerning the past, the creation of a separate section for pre-history within the purview of the Indian History Congress seems to me to be an imperative need. Pre-historic archæology, along with anthropology, has a separate section in the Indian Science Congress. There is no doubt that pre-historic archæology has its moorings in a number of sciences. But nobody can deny that its principal bearings are on past history, and this Congress, if by standing back it aims at comprehending the rise and fall of civilisations, must recognise pre-history as one of its important sections. With your leave I would like to plead for splitting up Section I, which now includes pre-history, in two sections—the first concerned with pre-historic and proto-historic India, and the second with ancient India up to A.D. 1206, with the year 600 B.C. as an approximately convenient point for separating the two. Such a measure would not only relieve congestion in present-day

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Section I, but would also add a stimulus to pre-historic and proto-historic studies that seem to be neglected nowadays by the majority of Indian historians.

Our scholars have been more active with regard to the historic phases, and one is really struck by the abundance of output by Indian historians in different aspects of ancient Indian history and culture. It is a happy sign further that gradually more and more scholars are being drawn to historical pursuits, and research publications on ancient Indian history in its varied branches are steadily on the increase. While this is quantitatively so, we must pause, I think, to consider whether qualitatively also we are maintaining the proper standard. You will excuse me, please, if I communicate to you frankly my own feelings on this question. I would request you, friends, not to misunderstand me.

Political history and chronology still claim our principal attention, The importance of such studies cannot certainly be denied. Such branches of archæology as epigraphy, palæography and numismatics constitute in this respect the chief tools for investigations on subjects within our period. It must be admitted, however, that one must learn to handle a tool properly before he can hope to use it in an efficient manner. From a number of recent publications and articles, some of which had been read in previous sessions of this Congress, it has been my feeling, and I shall be pleased if it is proved incorrect, that this golden rule is not being observed of late in a majority of instances. For reasons that you will not fail to understand I would refrain from particularising or specifying the instances by way of illustrating my point. I have been pained to notice, especially on the part of younger generations of scholars, very little familiarity, and not unusually a lack of familiarity, with the nature, content and import of the original source materials, particularly of an archæological character. The data seem to have been collected from secondary works without any attempt to obtain a clear acquaintance with the originals themselves. Not unoften, there may be observed wrong citations of data and new and startling theories built up on them; assumptions not warranted by the accepted laws of evidence; contrary and conflicting interpretations of the same or identical phraseologies in epigraphic passages in respect of different rulers to suit particular theories assiduously put forward; and such others. I do not intend to refer to or specify further instances as they would tend to be tiresome. What I would like to stress upon here is that such a tenor does not appear to me to be wholesome for purposes of historical enquiries.

Believe me, dear friends, I am not in a critical or disparaging mood. Clio, I beg to remind you, is a hard and jealous mistress. She expects

of us excatness and precision in the presentation of data, logic and reasoning in their analysis and interpretation and sound and unprejudiced judgment. To fulfil these, we must have a complete control and mastery over all source materials that concern our investigations. We must also have a fair grasp of the various problems pertaining to the subjects of our enquiry. Otherwise, we cannot hope to evaluate our data in a proper and dispassionate manner and to render a coherent record of our researches, based, as they are, principally on evidences that are often fragmentary and incomplete.

Please do not misunderstand me as sermonising if I emphasise again the necessity for a proper acquiantance with the source materials for researches in history. A lack of such acquiantance is apt to lead us into pitfalls at every step. Among the source materials, those relating to different branches of archæology offer the toughest of problems that can only be correlated and interpreted coherently after we have obtained a substantial grounding in such studies. If we have to handle archæological materials in our investigations, I repeat, again, that we have to prepare and discipline ourselves, if necessary, by schooling under acknowledged spcialists, for such works in order to have the best results out of our labours. This is a sound maxim which has to be scrupulously followed. We shall be failing in our proper functions if we forget or ignore it.

While on the subject of archæological studies I should refer, I think, to an antiquarian mania that has been growing of late throughout the country. This mania has created a class of people whom one may term as amateur archæologists. They are usually in the habit of discovering objects, assumed always to be of great antiquity and significance, on which they pass their startlingly valuable (?) opinions in a manner and with an emphasis that a professional specialist would hardly dare doing. What is more, such opinions, through the grace of some credulous journalist friend, find their way in newspapers and reach the ever-gullible public. This sort of news is now found to be a common and frequent occurrence, and leads to notions, often misconceived, which are hard to dispel. There is a further danger besides. Not unoften, these enthusiasts, in their misplaced zeal and with insufficient equipments, disturb objects from their proper contexts and thus destroy really valuable evidence that might have yielded fruitful results through proper scientific investigations. Again, these enthusiasts often tend to be collectors and do not hesitate to attack a mound or disfigure a monument for the possession of objects of their choice. This sort of spoliation has grown to be a disconcerting problem to genuine students of history, and this Congress, I may humbly submit, must consider seriously of the ways and means to check and stop this practice.

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Whatever the tenor today, I must remind you of the great progress that we have made during the last one hundred years in the recovery of our past history that had practically been lost in oblivion. The attempt to reconstruct this history may be said to have begun in 1784 with the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. During the first fifty years work done appears to have been negligible, and Elphinstone was, to a great extent, correct when in 1839 he observed that "no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahomedan conquest." The decipherment of the Brahmi script by James Prinsep in 1837 and of Kharoshthi almost simultaneously by Rochette and Lassen laid the foundations of Indian epigraphic and palæographic studies. Numismatic studies began also almost at the same time with the discoveries of large number of coins of different categories from various sites in India and Afghanistan. These had the effect of stimulating historical studies and the establishment of the Archæological Survey of India in 1862 and its reconstitution in 1902 led to an organisation of Indian archæological and historical scholarship on a clear and well-ordered basis. The University of Calcutta was the first to open post-graduate and research studies in ancient Indian history and culture and was followed by many other Universities in the country. All these resulted in a phenomenal development of a sound spirit of historical enquiry in India, and the Indian History Congress, as it is now, may be said to have inherited a rich and brilliant legacy of Indian historical lore. The history of the country has been reconstructed, bit by bit, by the painstaking researches of able and conscientious scholars, Indian as well as foreign, dead and living. The knowledge gained in various fields of history, by way of objective recording of data and logical interpretation according to laws of evidence, has been solid and not insignificant. We cannot afford to lose the standard and tradition that had been built up in historical scholarship. Nor can we allow the vision to be clouded by mists resulting from inadequate and insufficient handling of data and unwarranted assumptions.

I have already stated that what we have been able to achieve in course of the last one hundred years has not been insignificant. The basic facts of political history and chronology for the entire period covered by our Section seem to have been known and stabilised. There may yet be certain lacunæ and every one of us would feel happy to see them filled up in every detail. I feel, however, that the filling up of such lacunæ is not likely to be the kind and nature that might lead to a material revision of the facts known so far. For the early period, that is, up to the fall of the Guptas, the other aspects of history, for example, in respect of social conditions, economic factors, religion, cultural activities, and the like, have also received their proper share of attention, and in each one of these spheres we find one or more works dealing

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with these aspects of our history in their main outlines, and sometimes also in detail. There may be scope for further detailed investigations, and such investigations are always welcome to enable us to have a clear picture of the whole.

I may digress here from my present theme, for a little, to refer to the need for developing a knowledge among our historians of the history of the neighbouring territories. India, it is now an admitted fact, had been a great force in the history of Asia as a whole. The theory of 'splendid isolation' does no longer hold good, at least for the earlier phases of our history. A knowledge of the history of the neighbouring territories, particularly West Asia, Central Asia, China, Japan and South-East Asia, seems to be indispensable for a proper perspective of Indian history and for a clear understanding of the mutual contacts and inter-relations. For such a knowledge our equipments are scanty and facilities entirely lacking. There have been discovered important contacts between the Sumerian civilisation in West Asia and the Harappan in India. The inscriptions of Darius refer to a part of north-western India as included within the empire of the Great king and of this we have also the testimony of Herodotus. Alexander's historians refer to many Indian tribes inhabiting the eastern fringes of Afghanistan, and in this territory, ever since the time of Masson we hear of the discoveries of Indian antiquities in the shape of coins, inscriptions and art objects. It is from the steppes of Central Asia that the Sakas and the Yue-chis came to India. With China, Japan, Tibet and South-East Asia India had missionary and cultural contacts extending for centuries. In many of these countries there still remain important documents and materials of supreme significance for a reconstruction and elucidation of Indian history on a much wider perspective. I hope I voice your opinion if I say that competent scholars should be enabled to visit these territories for a first-hand acquaintance with such materials. Two years back I had the opportunity of visiting Nepal as the leader of the survey of her manuscript libraries. I have been struck by the wealth of materials in that small kingdom for a study of the history of Nepal and that of India as well. The results of these investigations are being published by the Asiatic Society. What I feel is that competent scholars, if given proper facilities for investigations, in one or more of the above-mentioned countries, may yet discover new and important materials likely to add to our knowledge of the history of our country. Incidentally, I may notice here, from my experience in Nepal and elsewhere, that old manuscripts, rather unlikely sources though, are known to have supplied in their colophons important facts of history and chronology, and I would like to plead for a search of the old Bhandars of India by our historians with this purpose in view.

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We may now resume our theme. The period from the fall of the Guptas to the Muslim conquest, it has certainly appeared to you, furnishes circumstances and happenings that may be found to differ substantially from those with which we are familiar by now in the earlier phase. I would like to designate this later phase of ancient Indian history as the 'mediæval' phase, though the term 'mediæval' may be questioned by many amongst us. This phase, I humbly submit, has received, relatively though, a rather scant attention, though it is no less important for a clear and comprehensive perspective of Indian history. It is true, our scholars have done much to furnish us with the chronicles of the various dynasties that parcelled out the country into numerous petty kingdoms, often in conflict with one another for political supremacy and suzerainty. It is this side of the history of this 'mediæval' phase that has been emphasised in the majority of the dynastic chronicles. There is usually no attempt to search for those forces and circumstances that might have been at the root of the perpetual dynastic squabbles. Recently, a predecessor of mine in this office, observed that "today the dynastic chronicle of the entire period stands on relatively solid foundations; the narratives of kings and their ministers and the wars that they waged and the description of the administrative machineries they evolved in their respective regions are more or less determined with relative precision of outline and contour." To my mind, however, it appears that such works as have been done on the various mediæval dynasties are, to a certain extent, one-sided and compartmental in the sense that, with very few exceptions, these works betray a lack of and disregard for perspective. For the chronicle of any of these dynasties the principal sources of information consist of the inscriptions of its rulers and whatever scanty information can be gleaned from literature. Mostly, such inscriptions were composed by the court poets who, experience teaches us, were not free from the normal human failing of eulogising their patrons and their dynasties and of exaggerating their achievements. We should always be cautious, hence, to accept an epigraphic statement until and unless we evaluate it according to the accepted laws of evidence and in the light of contemporary happenings elsewhere, particularly in the neighbouring kingdoms. It is not unusual to find the inscriptions of each of the rulers of contemporary rival dynasties claiming brilliant military successes over the other. A researcher, working on a particular dynasty and depending principally on the inscriptions of his dynasty, may seldom have the capacity to rise above the bias engendered by the evidences supplied by his principal sources. There is an apprehension, hence, that if he lacks a wider perspective and a sense of relatedness, his work is apt to become an apologia for the dynasty of his choice. The dynastic chronicles, only a few excepted, are not found to be free from such drawbacks. A broader perspective and sense of relatedness would necessarily demand a critical estimate of the dynasty in relation to contemporary history and politics; but we

have yet to see a chronicle having such a chapter or section. An inquisitive reader trying to have a picture of India in this 'mediæval' phase finds himself bewildered by the claims and counter-claims made in the different dynastic chronicles from which he seeks information. You will excuse me please, if in this sense I regard many of the dynastic histories produced by our scholars to be unreal, and "not determined with relative precision of outline and contour" as maintained by my predecessor.

Your president may be accused of failing in his duty if he does not refer to the publication last year of the second volume of the *Comprehensive History of India* which covers the period from 325 B.C. to A.D. 300. This history, you all know, has been planned by this Congress on a collaborative basis and is to be published in twelve volumes. The publication of this volume had long been eagerly awaited, and the expectations of the scholarly world, I humbly submit, have been amply fulfilled. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, has also a similar scheme in hand to be completed in ten volumes, of which the first five, covering the period of this Section, had already been published. These works published by the two organisations certainly testify to the high standard of historical scholarship in India, and judging from this standpoint, I think, we have reasons to congratulate ourselves. The first collaborative scheme of writing history was sponsored in this country by the University of Dacca with the *History of Bengal*, two volumes of which were published respectively in 1948 and 1948. Since the publication of the *History of Bengal* a few other schemes of regional histories have also been planned by institutions as well as individuals, and such schemes are now known to be in different stages of progress. It is a pleasant surprise to learn further that the Vidyodaya Library of Calcutta, a firm of private publishers, has just sponsored a second collaborative scheme of a *Comprehensive History of Bengal*, to be published in three volumes, fully documented and expected to cover more than 2,500 pages. This is a daring, but laudable, venture on the part of a private organisation and it sets an example for the publishers of other parts of India to follow and emulate.

I have tired your patience, I am afraid, by this uninspiring address. You will allow me, please to make one humble submission before I conclude. A re-orientation of our outlook is necessary, I believe, in the treatment of the history of what I have described as the 'mediæval' phase. This phase is found to be characterised by a strong regional consciousness that seems to operate in every sphere of activity. Along with this, there is noticed an attitude of rigidly separatist and isolationist tendency. This attitude is beautifully expressed by a terse statement of that keen observer, Al-Biruni. "The Hindus," he says, "believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like

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theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs." He feels further that "if they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind." Our view of Indian history is that such was not the picture of our people in the earlier phase. Al-Biruni also concedes that "their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation." An all-India consciousness seems to have loomed large in every sphere of activity up till the fall of the Guptas. It is known to have maintained a precarious hold for some time more, but not much beyond the middle of the ninth century A.D., and was replaced by a strong and conscious regionalism. The liberalism of the early phase gradually gave place to rigid separatism and isolationism. These may be regarded as the distinctive tendencies of this 'mediæval' phase of Indian history. The growth and development of such tendencies were not unrelated and detached events, but had their roots deep in the various forces and factors that came to operate in the 'mediæval' phase. These forces and factors might also have been responsible for the rapid collapse of the Hindus before the onslaught of Islam. As historians, we must learn what such forces were, in order to have a comprehensive picture of 'mediæval' India in all its facets and to guard against similar circumstances in future. For the 'mediæval' phase, then, I feel that our investigations should be intensively directed to that end. I may only suggest that such an enquiry seems to be indispensable and imperative; but humbly I do confess that I am not yet in a position to give you an idea of the means and modes of this kind of investigations. All that I know is that it is not possible by the one-sided and compartmental outlook in which dynastic histories have been written and are being written. The necessary information for such an enquiry is certainly there, many of them embedded among the sources on which dynastic histories are dependant. It requires a scholar or scholars with a broader outlook, wider perspective and intellectual and imaginative approach to exploit such information for purposes of this enquiry which, again, must be conducted on an all-India canvas and in a chronological sequence.

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CHOS-RJE-DPAL—A TIBETAN MONK PILGRIM
(A.D. 1234-1236)

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

GREEK, Roman, Chinese and Arab pilgrims—or trade travellers to India are already known to us from the accounts they have left us of their travels in this country, which have thrown considerable light on its history. Tibetan monk-pilgrims of this category were so far not known. Recently however La-tso-ba (translator) Chos-rje-dpal, Dharmaswami has been discovered from a Tibetan work, which the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has sent to the press. This monk-pilgrim had visited only the sacred Buddhist places in Bihar during the years 1234-36 A.D. His biography is a short work covering only about 50 pages or so in print, but it gives valuable glimpse into the history of India of a period of which non-Muslim sources are indeed few. We here propose to give a brief account of the life and journey of Chos-rje-dpal.

Chos-rje-dpal was born in 1197 A.D. He began his studies at the age of 7 and continued them for 22 years before he decided to visit Nepal and India to complete them. In his time a vast number of Buddhist Indian monk scholars had settled down in Nepal where they had gone as refugees from the Muslim invasion. Chos-rje-dpal spent eight years in the Svayambhu Chaita in Nepal studying there under Ratnarakshita and Ravindra. After finishing his education in Nepal, at the age of 37, Chos-rje-dpal resolved to go to India, although the country being unsettled, it was somewhat dangerous to do so. His own uncle had expired in India some years ago and many people dissuaded him. Ravindra however encouraged him. "There shall be no danger; we father and son shall meet again. Chos-rje-dpal had cherished the ambition of visiting India from his childhood and he decided to go in the company of a motely crowd of merchants and pilgrims in 1234, probably in the spring, planning to be in Bodha-Gaya on the following birth-date of the Buddha.

Chos-rje-dpal took three months to reach Bodha-Gaya. On his way he passed through Vaishali, which was deserted on account of an apprehended Muslim attack. Inhabitants used to resort to forest by day and come back to their houses at night. In one place the party was attacked by wild bulls; in another place an impudent woman 'attacked' them and some of fellow-pilgrims fell a victim to her charms. The danger of robbers was always there.

After crossing the Ganga probably near Patna, the pilgrim proceeded to Bodh-Gaya. He is silent about Patna; probably it was mostly a deserted city, as noted by Yuan Chwang. At Bodha-Gaya the pilgrim wanted to have the *darśana* of the Buddha. But to his great regret he discovered that the city was again deserted owing to an apprehended Muslim attack. He also had to take resort to forest. The real image in the Buddha temple had been screened off by a wall and a 'false' image had been installed against the screening wall. Within three weeks it appeared that the apprehended attack would not materialise and so the king of the place, named Buddhasena, returned back to his capital along with 500 soldiers. The false image was taken off; the screening wall was removed and then our pilgrim could have the *darśana* of the image to his heart's content.

Chos-rje-dpal has given a lot of interesting information about Gaya. The establishment was under the complete control of the Hinayanist Ceylonese monks; only they could sleep in the court-yard of the temple and none else. The Hinayanist Ceylonese pontiff had no soft corner for the Mahayanists; when Chos-rje-dpal went before the image to pay his homage, the pontiff asked, 'What is the book under your arm?' The pilgrim replied, 'Prajnaparamita.' 'Throw it in the river,' thundered the pontiff, 'Mahayāna books can never secure you salvation.' Pilgrims had to meet many pressing demands from the priests; the Tibetan pilgrim observes that in one place no temple was constructed over the stone feet of the Buddha because it was feared that if there was a temple, there would be a priest who would demand a fee and so fewer people could have the *darśana*.

From Bodha-Gaya the pilgrim went to Rajgir, where there was a famous Buddhist scholar named Yaśomitra, under whom he studied for a few months. There were a number of Buddhist Tāntrikas at this place as well as in the vicinity of Nalanda, who were believed to have superhuman powers.

After finishing his studies at Rajgir, Chos-rje-dpal visited a Kali temple and gives us a lurid account of the animal sacrifices that were offered there. He then came to Nalanda.

Nalanda at this time was merely a ghost of its former splendid self. The usual belief that this University was completely destroyed by the troops under Bakhtyar Khalji is shown to be slightly wrong by our pilgrim's account. According to our pilgrim, there were originally seven temples and fourteen big and eighty-four small monasteries there. At the time of his visit they were all damaged by the Muslim invaders, and there was no one to look after them or to make offerings. Only two monasteries called Dhanaba and Ghunaba were in a serviceable condition. The surrounding wall however was still intact along with the eastern and the western gates, decorated with the painting of Tara and other deities. Hundreds of monks belonging to the establishment had fled away, but the chief abbot Rāhula-śrī-bhadra, who was more than 90, had declined to leave his post. At the time of the visit of Chos-rje-dpal there were only seventy monks reading under Rāhula-śrī-bhadra; they were supported by king Buddhasena of Gaya and a rich lay Brahmana disciple named Jayadeva living at Odantapuri or Bihar Sharif. The final attack on Nalanda took place during the residence of Chos-rje-dpal and the Tibetan pilgrim carried his Indian Guru on his shoulders in order to save him.

Life in Nalanda was far from austere in mediæval times. The pilgrim was shown at Nalanda an image of Tara without ornaments. The local tradition stated that once upon a time a troop of singers and dancers had been invited to Nalanda from south India. The monks could not pay the stipulated fee. Tara image came to their rescue by offering her own ornaments to the troupe in payment of their fees.

Our pilgrim was attacked by severe fever while at Nalanda and his Indian Guru attended on him. The account makes no reference to any library at Nalanda, nor did Chos-rje-dpal carry away any copies of manuscripts with him.

As times were not very propitious and his own health very good, our pilgrim decided to return to his country. He recrossed the Ganga in the summer of 1286. On reaching Simraongarh, the capital of the contemporary Karnata king, he again fell severely ill, but was saved by the kind service of a Tibetan pilgrim that had just come there from Nepal. On recovering his health, he met the king who requested him to be his chaplain. Chos-rje-dpal politely declined this kind offer, but the king gave him gold and provisions for his journey. The pilgrim gives us a vivid account of the additional precautions taken by Ramasinha to repel any possible Muslim invasion.

Chos-rje-dpal reached Nepal in 1287 and was warmly received there by his preceptors. He could not decline the request of his Guru Ravīndra and stayed in his monastery for four years, helping his Guru in his work. He received here several important manuscripts as presents from his disciples.

It was probably in 1241 A.D. that Chos-rje-dpal reached his own monastery at Iteura. His departure to this place was like a royal procession and several domestic yaks were required to carry his packages. His lay disciples thronged in large numbers. A few of them who had no issues were soon blessed with them and they attributed their good luck to the spiritual power of their Guru.

After reaching his own monastery, Chos-rje-dpal reorganised its intellectual and spiritual life and made it a great centre of Buddhist learning. His fame soon reached abroad and the famous Mongol emperor Kublai Khan sent an imperial embassy to request him to visit his court. He however politely got himself excused. In 1256 however a second embassy came with the same request and Chos-rje-dpal had to start for Mongolia. On the way he began to suffer from pain in the legs and the Mongol dignitaries agreed to his return hoping that at least Tibet would continue to get the benefit of his sermons and scholarship.

On his return Chos-rje-dpal visited several monasteries in his country lecturing on the Jatakas, Mahachittotpada, Samadhi-raja-Sutra, Bodhicharyavatara, Suhrillekha, Bhavanakrama, Paramarthabodhi-chittabhavana etc. He used to recite Gurustot and Mañjuśrīstotra at the beginning of every lecture.

As he began to become older and older, Chos-rje-dpal became more and more spiritual. He began to exhort the monks not only to study but also to meditate. He once spent three months in silence and meditation. He felt that in order to purify the Buddhism of Tibet, stress should be laid on the teachings of Mādhyamikāratnāvali and Pradīpodyotana. His spiritual reputation became higher and higher. He was asked to lay the foundation-stone of an ecclesiastical palace near Lhassa and lecture at a monastery near the same place. At this place he used to deliver five lectures a day and the usual attendance was 100.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he gave away all his wealth in charity. It consisted of three plates full of precious stones. He passed away on Wednesday, the 10th day of the bright half of Mārgaśiras in 1264 A.D. at the age of 67. At the time of his death he was regarded as a manifestation of the Buddha and his biographer

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reports how a number of rainbows appeared in the sky and began to shower flowers. People could catch the latter in their hands, but when they opened them out, they could see nothing.

Chos-rje-dpal was the author of 80 books in Tibetan. We have given above a brief indication of the light which his travels threw on the contemporary Indian history. The matter has been fully discussed in my long introduction to the Biography of Chos-rje-dpal which is now in the press.

MANOR PLATES OF RĀSHṬRAKŪTA DANTIDURGA : ŚAKA YEAR 671

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI .

Nagpur

THIS set of two copper-plates was found some fifteen years ago while digging in a field at the village of Manor in the Palghar taluka of the Thana District in the Bombay State. Along with it was discovered another set of plates dated in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691), which belongs to the reign of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Badami. It has been edited by Mr. Krishna Dev of the Archæological Department in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22. The present set of plates has, however, remained unpublished till now. Nearly ten years ago, while I was studying another copper-plate inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, I wanted to see this record also. So at my request Mr. Krishna Dev sent me a set of its ink impressions, which is still with me. Some days ago, while turning over old papers I noticed these impressions. As the plates have remained unpublished for nearly fifteen years after their discovery and the information they furnish is important for the ancient history of Konkan I edit them here from the aforementioned impressions.

As stated before, this is a set of two copper-plates. They are inscribed on the inner side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in other inscriptions of the time found in Konkan. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the form of the initial *e* in *ekā-saptaty-adhikeshu* in line 1, the cursive form of *ś* in *śri* in line 4 and the form of the lingual *ḍ* in *Boḍavarmma* etc. in line 6. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *Prithivīvallabha*, line 2, the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *pravarddhamāna*, line 8 and the absence of concord in *kāle-pi-gachchhatā*, line 10. In some places the *sandhis* are either not done or are done incorrectly; see *shaṭsu-ekā(ka)saptaty-adhikeshu* in line 1 and *-grāmo khaṇḍa-* in line 9.

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The object of the inscription is to record that in the year 671, during the augmenting reign of Prithivīvallabha, Khaḍgāvaloka, illustrious Dantidurga[1], who had obtained the *pañcha-mahā-śabda*, while the illustrious Aniruddha, meditating on his feet, was governing the town of Śrīpura, certain representatives of the Mahājana (Corporation) of the Traividyas of the place *viz.* Boḍavarma Bhogika Durga Bhogika, Devamma Bhogika, Goviyasaṅga Bhogika and Goviya, donated, near the footprints of the god Brahmā, the village Tambasāhikā situated in the *vishaya* (District) of Śrīpura to the temple of Bādeśvara which had been caused to be constructed by Bādaḍi Bhogika, who meditated on the feet of (*i.e.* was the son of) Svāmī Dharmabhaṭṭa. The gift was intended to be utilised for meeting the expenses of the repairs of the aforementioned temple. Then follows the imprecation that he who would dispute this gift would incur the five great sins. The record closes with the names of some persons who are evidently cited as witnesses. The engraver of the plates was the goldsmith Chanḍahari and the scribe Devaka Tribhogika. As the grant was made by a Corporation, the usual verses of appeal to future rulers for the preservation of the gift are naturally not cited here.

Dantidurga was the first great ruler of the Later Rāshṭrakūṭa Dynasty. He was preceded by the following five princes whose names are mentioned in some early records. The reign-periods given below ear approximate.

Dantivarman
(A.D. 620-630)
|
Indra I
(A.D. 630-650)
|
Govinda I
(A.D. 650-670)
|
Karka I
(A.D. 670-690)
|
Indra II
(A.D. 690-710)

Indra II was followed by Dantidurga (*circa* A.D. 710-755). This family originally hailed from the Aurangabad District and seems to have first owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Badami. Dantidurga was the first great ruler who made several conquests and raised the prestige of his family.

1. The name of this King appears here as *Dantiyadurga*.

Only three records of the reign of Dantidurga have been discovered till now—of which one is a cave inscription and the other two copper-plate grants. The former is in the Daśāvatār Cave at Ellora and records Dantidurga's victories over the rulers of Kāñchī, Kosala, Kaliṅga, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Ṭaṅka and Lāṭa. Of the copper-plate inscriptions one was found in the fort of Samangad in the former Kolhapur State.[2] It is dated in the Śaka year 675 (A.D. 753). On account of the developed forms of letters and the decimal figures used therein, it is regarded as spurious. The second copper-plate inscription was found at Ellora.[3] Its date has been differently read. Mr. S. K. Dikshit, who has edited it, reads it as 668, which he refers to the Śaka era and takes as equivalent to A.D. 741. I have stated elsewhere[4] the reasons for reading it as 463, which I refer to the Kalachuri era and take as corresponding to A.D. 715. The present grant dated in the year 671, evidently of the Śaka Saṁvat, corresponding to A.D. 749-50, is the last record of Dantidurga's reign. He must have died soon thereafter; for only nine years later, his uncle and successor Kṛishṇa I granted the Bopkal plates in the Śaka year 680 (A.D. 758-59).

Though the present inscription is thus the last record of Dantidurga's reign, it does not mention any of his victories; for it was issued not by him but by the Corporation of the city of Śrīpura. It mentions his birudas *Pṛithivīvallabha* and Khaḍgāvaloka, which are also noticed in the earlier Ellora plates. Curious as it might appear, Dantidurga is described herein as one who had won the right to the five musical instruments. Such description is usually noticed in the case of feudatory princes and not of paramount sovereigns.

The present inscription is, however, important in several respects. It clearly shows that at Śrīpura in Konkan there was a temple dedicated to the god Brahmā, who was worshipped therein in the form of his foot-prints (*pādamūlas*). Temples of Brahmā are rarely mentioned. There is still a famous temple of Brahmā at the holy place of Pushkara near Ajmer, but generally the images of Brahmā are seen on the outer walls of temples dedicated to other gods like Vishṇu or Śiva. It is interesting to note that there was a temple of Brahmā at Śrīpura in North Konkan, which testifies to the cult of that god flourishing there in the 8th century A.D.

Another interesting information furnished by the present record is that the grant was made not by a king or a royal officer but by the Mahājana (Corporation) of the city of Śrīpura. The Corporation evidently consisted of the representatives of the city and managed the civic

2. *IA*, vol. XI, pp. 12 f.
3. *EI*, vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.
4. *JBBRAS*, N. S., vol. XXVI, pp. 163 f.

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affairs including charitable endowments of the city. It had evidently proprietary rights over the surrounding villages, of which it could donate one or more for charitable purposes. Such references to gifts of whole villages made by Corporations are rarely noticed. One such instance is the gift of the whole village Dhambhika made by the people of Nasik as recorded in a Nasik Cave inscription.[1] Another similar gift is recorded in an inscription discovered at Ukkal in South India.[2] It mentions that the Corporation of the place granted a village to a local temple and thereby renounced its right to levy taxes and to claim forced labour from that village.

This grant sheds also important light on the history of Konkan. The Chālukya prince Vinayāditya-Mangalarasa was ruling in Konkan from his capital Maṅgalapurī, which he himself had evidently founded, but the exact location of which has not yet been determined. As stated before, one of his grants dated in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691) has been discovered at Manor itself. That he continued to rule till the Śaka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) is known from another of his grants discovered at Balsaḍ in Gujarat. Soon thereafter, Konkan seems to have been conquered by Dantidurga; for at the time of the grant of the present plates (A. D. 749-50) it was governed by Aniruddha, who, in the absence of a title like *Sāmanta* or *Māṇḍalika*, seems to have been only a Governor appointed by Dantidurga. About 50 years later in *circa* A.D. 800 the Rāshṭrakūṭas made over Konkan to the Śilāhāra prince Kapardin I, whose descendants remained loyal to their suzerains to the last.

The present inscription mentions only two place-names *viz.* Śripura and Tambasāhika. Sripura is called also Śrīnagara in line 12. There is no place exactly corresponding to it in the vicinity of Manor. Perhaps Śrigaon on the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Manor and 4 miles from Palghar, represents ancient Śrīpura. It is said to have an old fort and therefore seems to have been a place of some importance in former times. Tambasāhikā may be Tamsāhi which, according to the information supplied by Mr. D. D. Vaze of Ambarnath, lies about 2 miles from Manor. I have not, however, been able to trace it on the Survey of India maps available to me.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1. सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति [1*] संवत्सरशतेषु षट्सु एका (क) सप्तत्यधिकेषु सं
2. ६०० ७० १ समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दप्रि (पृ) थीवीवल्लभस्व—

1. Cf. *Nāsikakānaṁ Dhambhika-gamasa dānaṁ* in Lüders' List, No. 1142.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, pt. I.
1. From ink impressions kindly sent by Mr. Krishna Dev.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

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3. ड्गावलोक श्रीदन्तियदुर्ग्गराज[3]प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये तत्पा—
4. दानुद्धयातो(त) श्रि (श्री)अनिरुद्धप्रभुज्यमाने श्रीपुर(रे) भगवतो
5. ब्रह्मण V/Λ पादमूले तत्रि(त्र)त्यत्रैविद्यमहाजनप्रमुख—
6. बोडवर्म्मभोगिकदुग्ग(र्ग्ग) भोगिकदेवम्मभोगिकगोवियसं—

SECOND PLATE

7. गभोगिकगोवियप्रमुखमहाजनेन कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रस्वामिध—
8. र्म्मभट्टतत्पादानुद्धयातबादडिभोगिककारितबादेश्वरदेवायतनाय
9. श्रीपुरविषयो(या)न्तर्ग्गततंबसाहिकाग्रामो (म:) खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारा [र्थं] उ—
10. दकपूर्व्वकेण दक्तः (त्तः।) तत्कालेपि गच्छता[4] न कैश्चिव्या(द्वया) सेध: कार्य्य: [1*] य—
11. 8/क श्चिक्कुबु [ब्या] [द्धया] वमानी विवदते[5] स पंचभिर्म्महापांतफै: संयुक्तो भव—
12. ति [1*] संगभोगिकसंगआचडिवैखकुण्णम्म-श्रीनगरप्रमु [ख*] दत्तबो[6]—
13. दडिभोगिकोत्र सामान्या[7]॥ सोनारचण्डहरि । लिखितं चेदं देवकत्रि—
14. भोगिकेण [1*]

3. Read दन्तिदुर्ग्गराज—
4. Read तत्काले गच्छति
5. The *mātrā* on this letter is cancelled.
6. Perhaps —श्रीनगरप्रमुखैर्दत्तम् is intended. Or दत्तबोदडि may be the name of a person.
7. Read भोगिका अत्र सामान्याः ।

THE INITIAL YEAR OF SĀTAVĀHANA RULE

Dr. M. Rama Rao

The chronology of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas is a knotty problem and has evoked much controversy. Several conflicting views have been expressed by scholars regarding the duration of Sātavāhana rule and its initial year. This problem has received the attention of some writers recently and their views deserve careful examination.

Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 80 B.C. taking his stand on the Purāṇas which mention that Simuka, the first king, slew Suśarman, the last Kāṇva king. He also holds that the total duration of Sātavāhana rule was 257 years and that this rule came to an end in 227 A.D. He states that the Nanaghat, Nasik, Sanchi and Hathigumpha inscriptions which mention early Sātavāhana rulers, all belong to a period subsequent to the commencement of the first century B.C.[1] and the end of this dynasty to 227 A.D.[2]

Prof. G. V. Rao,[3] and following him, Dr. O. Ramachandriah,[4] go to the other extremity and suggest that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 271 B.C. This view is based on the following suppositions—that it was Puḷumāvi I and not Simuka that killed Suśarman Kāṇva, that this Puḷumāvi had a reign of 15 years, that his predecessors from Simuka downwards ruled for 228 years, that Puḷumāvi overthrew Suśarman towards the end of his own reign, that the reign of Simuka commenced therefore in (228 + 15 + 28 B.C. =) 271 B.C., that the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription was Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists and that this Sātakarṇi lived in 181 B.C.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji ascribes the beginning of Sātavāhana rule to 80 B.C. and its end to 250 A.D.[6]

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 195.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
3. *JIH*, 1949.
4. *Sir Jadunath Sircar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 222-251.
5. *History of South India*, pp. 89-90.
6. *Ancient India* (1956).

The suggestion of a very late date, like 28 B.C. or 30 B.C., for the commencement of the rule of the Sātavāhanas is due to the fact that the writers who hold this view refuse to take into consideration (1) the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas, whatever the details given by them may be, that there were thirty kings and a total duration of four and a half centuries of their rule; (2) the statement of the *Vāyu* that it mentions only important kings[7] and (3) the statement of the *Matsya* that the Āndhras were *paulomas*,[8] implying in a supplementary way that it gives full information from Puḷumāvi onwards. This unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas is discarded and the shorter list of kings and the shorter duration of their rule are taken into consideration just in order to fit in that short duration of Sātavāhana rule between 30 B.C. and the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. This view cannot be accepted. It cannot, for example, explain Sātavāhana-Sunga rivalry for the possession of Mālava and central India which is indicated by the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the Sanchi inscription of Sātakarṇi II. Even the *Vāyupurāṇa* assigns 28 years to Simuka, 18 years to his brother, Kṛṣṇa, and 56 years to Sātakarṇi II, thus placing the last king about 11-67 A.D. The Sungas did not flourish at this date. Again, according to the Vāyu, 219 years elapsed between the commencement of the reign of Simuka and that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If this period is calculated from 30 B.C. the beginning of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi has to be ascribed to (219-30 =) 189 A.D. This date is against the unquestionable evidence of epigraphy and numismatics. Further, the Vāyu gives a total of 275 years for the duration of Sātavāhana rule and if this period is calculated from 30 B.C., we obtain 245 A.D. for the end of Sātavāhana rule. This date is rendered impossible by well established facts of contemporary history. For these very strong reasons the view of Drs. Sircar and Mookerji that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 30 or 28 B.C. cannot be accepted.

Then there is the other view that the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla is later than the commencement of the first century B.C. and that this ruler of Kaḷinga and the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the inscription flourished therefore in the first century B.C. This inscription has been studied carefully and assigned, on grounds of paleography and historical synchronisms, to the first century B.C. and preferably to its earlier half.[9] There is no reason to doubt the validity of this ascription. There is the connected view that the Sātakarṇi of this record is Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists. This view also is untenable. The *Yugapurāṇa* states[10] that after the death of Oḍraka of the Sunga

7. *Prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi.*
8. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58; *JBORS*, III, p. 248.
9. *EI*, XX, pp. 73-77.
10. *JBORS*, XVI pp. 18-66.

family, the Śakas occupied Pataliputra, that three Śaka kings ruled over the city for at least seven years, that they then invaded Kaḷinga, then under the rule of a Sātarāja, and that this Sātarāja destroyed the Śakas and held sway over Pataliputra for ten years. This Sātarāja may be identified with a Sātakarṇi because *Sāta* is a well-known contraction of Sātakarṇi. It follows that a Sātakarṇi was the ruler of Kaḷinga about ten years after the death of the Sunga king, Oḍraka and that he flourished in the early half of the first century B.C. Everybody is agreed about assigning an inscription on the southern gateway of Sanchi which mentions a Sātakarṇi to this period. This Sātakarṇi may then be identified with the Sātarāja of the *Yugapurāna*. It is evident then that Khāravēla could not have ruled over Kaḷinga at this time and that this Sātakarṇi or Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists could not be his contemporary. Khāravēla's contemporary must be taken to be Sātakarṇi I.

Then there is the suggestion that 271 B.C. marks the commencement of Sātavāhana rule. There are serious objections to our accepting this view. There is no evidence to show that Pulumāvi I killed Kāṇva Suśarman towards the end of his own reign. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Suśarman was a feudatory of Kuntala Sātakarṇi, the predecessor of Pulumāvi I. Pulumāvi could therefore have overthrown Suśarman even at the beginning of his own reign. The addition of 15 years, presuming that Puluṃāvi ruled for that period, thus becomes unnecessary. If these 15 years are cut we have the Vāyu total of 228 years. If this period is calculated from 30 B.C. we obtain 258 B.C. for the commencement of the rule of Simuka and not 271 B.C. Since the *Vāyu* gives a shorter duration its total cannot be relied upon in this connection. The *Matsya* which contains a fuller list gives an interval of 192 years betwen the commencement of Simuka's reign and that of Pulumāvi I. This would place the commencement of Sātavāhana rule in (192 + 30 +) 220 B.C. Another serious objection to this view can also be mentioned. Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor, is known to have flourished between 273-236 B.C.[11] His edicts indicate that the entire Deccan was included in his dominions. The Āndhras are mentioned as living in his empire—*ITTHA RĀJAVIṢAYB*. The label inscription under the figure of Simuka in the Naneghat cave describes Simuka with the title *Rājan*. The Purāṇas also state the same thing. It is impossible that Simuka could have flourished as an independent king during the lifetime of Aśoka and conquered Maharashtra and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Mahāraṭhis. Further, the discovery of four coins of an independent Sātavāhana king, named Sātavāhana or Sadavahana, shows that Simuka was not the first king of this family. If this Sātavāhana is taken to be Simuka's predecessor,

11. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 71.

and he seems to be so, he has to be assigned to the period of Maurya Bindusāra's rule. This Bindusāra is supposed to have been the conqueror of the Deccan. Thus the date 271 B.C. for the commencement of Sātavāhana rule cannot therefore be accepted as correct.

The only satisfactory solution of this problem is what I have suggested previously,[12] *i.e.* to consider 221 B.C. as the starting point of Sātavāhana rule. This date is derived in two ways—(1) by calculating the *Matsya* total of 192 years from 28 B.C. and (2) by calculating the *Matsya* total of 352 years from 130 A.D. the last year of Pulumāvi II. The first calculation gives 220 B.C. and the second gives 222 B.C. Simuka's reign may be reasonably taken to have commenced in 221 B.C. Then there was his predecessor, king Sātavāhana. This king may be ascribed to the interval between the death of Aśoka and the commencement of the reign of Simuka *i.e.* 236 B.C. to 221 B.C.. Thus it is evident that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 236 B.C., immediately after the death of Aśoka Maurya.

12. *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 51.

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KUṢĀṆA POLITY

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After more than two centuries of disintegration following the fall of the Maurya empire the Kuṣāṇas restored the partial political unity of Northern India and maintained it for about more than a century. But the Kuṣāṇa political organization did not possess that rigid centralization which characterised the Maurya administrative machinery. The inscriptions and, to some extent, the coins, which form the chief source of our study of the Kuṣāṇa polity, do not give any indication of the existence of numerous state officials, who are known from the epigraphs of Aśoka and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The one striking difference between the Maurya and the Kuṣāṇa rulers is the use of grandiloquent titles by the latter. In the beginning Kujūla Kadphises, the founder of the Kuṣāṇa power in India, is described as a small chief (yavuga), but, with the expansion of their power, he and other Kuṣāṇa rulers use such titles as *mahārāja, rājātirāja* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, p. 149, No. 51, 1·2, cf. p. 124). Both these titles were used by the Parthian (*ibid.*, p. 123) rulers Gondopharnes and Azilises, who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 110), although in comparison with the Kuṣāṇa successors their power was very limited. The earliest epigraphic mention of the title *mahārāja* is to be found in the first century B.C. Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela, where his ancestor Mahāmeghavāhana is described as a mahārāja (p. 1). But the title *rājātirāja*, although Indian in form, was of foreign extraction and was apparently derived by the Kuṣāṇas from their Parthian predecessors, who adopted it from the Achæmenians. The first Parthian king to use the title 'King of Kings' was Mithridates II, 123-88 B.C. (*CII*, II, i, p. xxix). This seems to have been imitated by the Śaka chief Maues (*ibid.*) after 88 B.C., and was also used by the Parthian rulers now and then. A Jain text, the *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*, which seems to contain genuine traditions about the first appearance of the Śakas in India (*CII*, II, i, pp. xxvi-ii), uses the prakritised form *rāyāhirāya* in the case of a Śaka ṣāhi (Ed. H. Jacobi, *ZDMG*, 1880, p. 266, verse 62). Since lesser rulers such as the Śaka, and especially the Parthian, styled themselves as *rājātirāja* and *mahārāja*, these titles should not be taken to betoken greater royal authority. This also applies to the case of the

Kuṣāṇas. Undoubtedly Aśoka's empire was far greater and his authority far stronger, yet he remained satisfied with the simple title of *rājā*. Therefore the above Kuṣāṇa titles perhaps betray a tendency towards decentralization rather than the exaltation of royal authority, as has been suggested by some scholars (Raychaudhury, *PHAI*, 5th end., p. 518; cf. Choshal, *Mauryas and Satavahanas*, p. 344). Such titles take notice of the existence of lesser kings and chiefs who stood in the relation of feudatories to the sovereign power, for the king is called *mahārāja* or the great king in relation to other kings (*rājās*), who do not enjoy that position. Similarly he is called *rājātirāja* or the supreme king of kings in relation to other subordinate kings in his Kingdom. Thus these titles indicate a feudatory organization consisting of tributary states or chiefs.

The rulers belonging to the Kaniṣka group generally prefixed to their names a title *ṣāhi*, (*Lüders' List*, Nos. 21, 69a, 72, 149a, 161; *Sel. Inscrs.*, i, 146, l.10). The title appears as *shaonano shao* on the coin-legends of Kaniṣka and his successors (*CCIM*, i, pp. 69, 75-9, 84). The sanskritised form of the title, *ṣāhānu ṣāhi*, appeared in the famous Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta. Although this epithet was ultimately derived from the Persian source, we are not certain about the intermediary from whom the Kuṣāṇa rulers adopted this title. Since the title on the coin-legends is written in pure Khotanī Śaka language (*CII*, II, i, p. lii), and ascribed in its prakritised form, *sāhāṇu sāhi*, to the Śakas by the *Kālakācārya-kathānaka* (*ZDMG*, 1880, p. 262, ll.35-36), most probably the Kuṣāṇas derived it from their Śaka predecessors, whom they supplanted in the area near about Mohenjo-daro. The administrative and political significance of this title can be brought out from the context in which it is used in the above-mentioned Jain text. It informs us (*ibid.*, p. 267 ff.) that the Jain teacher, Kālaka, whose sister was abducted by Gardabhilla, King of Ujjayinī, went to the *Śaka Kula*. There the feudatories (sāmanta) were called *sāhi* and their overlord (*sāmantāhivai*) *sāhāṇu sāhi*. Kālaka stayed with one of the sāhis, and as this chief together with ninety-five other sāhis fell into disgrace with the *sāhāṇu sāhi*, he induced them to proceed to Saurāṣṭra, which they divided among themselves. When the autumn came, the Jain teacher led them on to Ujjayinī, where Gardabhilla was made prisoner. A sāhi was established as overking (rāyāhirāya), and this led to the establishment of the Śaka dynasty. This story reveals three distinct elements in the Śaka polity, which seems to have been adopted by the Kuṣāṇas. Firstly, the ṣāhis were not independent kings who had been subjugated but chiefs who stood in the relation of feudatories to the great lord (*sāmantāhivai*). Secondly, the ṣāhis belonged to the same tribe as the ṣāhānuṣāhi, and, hence the overlord was only the first among the equals. Thirdly, as a natural corollary to this the allegiance of the ṣāhis to their overlord

rested on a slender basis, and at the slightest provocation they could withdraw their allegiance from him and seek their fortunes independently. We have some information about the nature of obligations of the ṣāhis towards their overlord. In A.D. 90 the Yüe-chi sent their viceroy Sie, *i.e.* according to M. Sylvain Lévi a ṣāhi, to attack Pan chao, who, however, succeeded in defeating him (quoted in *CII*, II, i, p. lxxii). This shows that to render military aid to the overlord was an important obligation of the ṣāhi. Unfortunately the existing data neither mention the names of the lesser rājās, ṣāhis, etc. nor indicate the nature of their relations with their Kuṣāṇa overlord. But for a conquering minority from outside the feudatory organization was apparently a suitable form of political system.

The feudatory character of the Kuṣāṇa political system can be also inferred from some other titles. Thus the title *mahīśvara* adopted by Wema Kadphises II (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 128) means the great lord. The title *sarvaloka-iśvara* (*ibid.*) means the lord of the whole world. Although these titles were not adopted by the Kaniṣka group of Kuṣāṇa rulers, they were different in spirit. Significantly enough the generally prevalent Kuṣāṇa titles such as *rājātirāja* and *ṣāhi* were not adopted by indigenous rulers, but the term *Iśvara* associated with the titles of the Kadphises group came to be common with post-Gupta rulers, who styled themselves as *parmeśvara*, the supreme lord.

At one stage the Kuṣāṇas were influenced by the Roman system of administration inasmuch as Kaniṣka adopted the stile of *Kaiser* (*ibid.*, p. 149, No. 51, 11.1-2), which was obviously used to challenge Roman power. But this was superficial imitation. They do not seem to have been influenced by the Roman system of provincial administration, which was an important Roman achievement. The Kuṣāṇas could not evolve any sound provincial system either on Maurya or Roman lines. It is doubtful whether they exercised any direct administrative control over any sizable part of their territories. The Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 8 (11.1-10) of Kaniṣka I (A.D. 81 ?) refers to the rule of two kṣatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, ruling over the eastern-most province, including the Benares region of Kaniṣka's empire (*ibid.*, p. 132, fn. 4). That there prevailed the system of dual kingship in some parts of Northern India in earlier times is known from Greek and Jain sources. But the Kuṣāṇas seem to have introduced the curious practice of dual governorship in a province. Apparently it was intended that one kṣatrapa would act as a check on the power of the other. But probably Vanaspara and Kharpallāna could not remain on the same footing for long, since in another inscription the former is mentioned as a *kṣatrapa* and the latter as a *mahākṣatrapa* (*Sārnāth Inscr.* No. 2, 11, p. 1-2, *Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 138).

What led to this change is difficult to say. Perhaps this was more in keeping with the hierarchical organization in the feudatory system than the equal position of the two kṣatrapas. The *mahākṣatrapa* (the great satrap) was made, as it were, the overlord of the *kṣatrapa* who assisted him in the work of administration. The names of Vanaspara and Kharpallāna clearly show that they were foreigners. It is suggested that they were the descendants of the Śaka *mahākṣatrapa* Ṣoḍāsa of Mathurā, and retained in their position by the Kuṣāṇas (S. K. Chattopodhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 84). If we accept this suggestion it would mean that even the kṣatrapas were not directly appointed by the Kuṣāṇa king but were reinstated in their position as vanquished chiefs. This may have been true in some cases, in other cases the kṣatrapas may have been appointed directly. At any rate it is clear that generally the scions of the ruling family were appointed to this position, thus in one case the son of a mahārāja was appointed a kṣatrapa (Taxila Silver Vase Inscr. of Jihnika, year 191, A.D. 134?, *Sel. Inscrs.*, p. 131, No. 36) probably in North-western India. The inscriptions do not give us sufficient idea about the functions of the kṣatrapas. As individuals they erected images of the Buddha as in the case of Vanaspara and Kharpallāna, or established several relics of the Buddha as in the case of kṣatrapa Veśpasi (*ibid.*, p. 138, No. 48, 11.2-4), who had appointed a donation master for this purpose. Except this they do not give any indication of the civil functions of the kṣatrapa as a governor.

The kṣatrapas exercised their powers through military officers, who seem to have occupied an important position in Kuṣāṇa polity. During the reign of Kaniṣka we hear of *daṇḍanāyaka* Lala, who served kṣatrapa Veśpasi as his donation master (*CII*, II, i, No. 76, 11.2-3). This military officer was a scion of the ruling family, for he is described as 'the increaser of the Kuṣāṇa race' (*ibid.*, 1.2). Besides a Mathurā inscription apparently ascribable to Kuṣāṇa times mentions *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vālina (*Lüders' List*, No. 60). Another Mathurā inscription mentions a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, whose son served under Huviṣka (*JRAS*, 1924, p. 402, 1.5). Thus just as on the civil side, if we may so call it, we hear of *rājā* and *mahārāja*, *kṣatrapa* and *mahakṣatrapa* on the military side we hear of *daṇḍanāyaka* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, a feature which seems to be in tune with the prevalent hierarchy. Thus the names of the Kuṣāṇa functionaries do not suggest any territorial or functional associations as we find in the case of Maurya functionaries but indicate a graded hierarchy of the same type of officers, the one being superior and the other subordinate.

As regards territorial units of administration under the Kuṣāṇas, the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions the existence of *viṣaya*, *bhukti*, etc. The existence of the latter is not corroborated by

any source and hence may have been a projection of Gupta units into Kuṣāṇa times, but that of the former is attested by a Buddhist Hahāyānist text of the third century A.D., which, while, defining a *devaputra*, refers to kings ruling in viṣayas (*JA*, 1934, p. 3). In the post-Maurya and Gupta inscriptions such units are generally mentioned in connection with land grants, which have not been found so far in the case of the Kuṣāṇa kings. We get, however, some idea of the revenue system of the Kuṣāṇas from the prevalence of the *akṣayanīvi* tenure during this period. The Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huviṣka (year 28 = A.D. 106 ?) refers to two gifts, one of *puṇyaśālā* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 146, 11.1-8) and the other of 500 *purāṇas*, (*ibid.*, 11.11-12), according to the *akṣayanīvi* system, which means that these endowments were made on a permanent basis. During this period endowments of money were also made in Mahārāṣṭra according to the same system, as we learn from the Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*ibid.*, I, p. 157, No. 58, 1.1), who was probably a kṣatrapa under Kaniṣka in the eraly part of his starapal rule. Land grants according to this system, which meant numerous exemptions in revenue, became frequent in the Gupta period. From the first century B.C. onwards we have epigraphic evidence of land grants made by the Sātavāhana rulers, but we have no such epigraphic examples in the case of Northern India. In all likelihood it was under the Kuṣāṇas that the practice of making grants according to the *akṣayanīvi* tenure was extended to land in Northern India. It seems that because of foreign conquest and occupation land came to be treated more and more as private possession, and hence it came to be regarded more and more partable. But the prevalence of this practice meant great loss in revenues to the state. There is, however, another aspect of the gifts sanctioned by the Kuṣāṇa and Sātavāhava rulers. Money endowments according to this system, both in the north and south, suggest that during the first two centuries of the Christian era money economy was in a very flourishing state. Money lending seems to have been sanctioned by religion, for religious needs were to be met out of the interest of money endowments. This fact together with the large number of copper coins attributable to Kuṣāṇas may lead us to think that revenues were largely realised in cash. In spite of money economy, which could have enabled the Kuṣāṇas to maintain their authority over the lesser lords, the practice of permanent grants, and the feudatory organization, were bound to set in motion the tendencies towards decentralization.

Perhaps the centrifugal forces were counterbalanced by the proclaimed association of divine elements with the ruler. Despite the fact that most Kuṣāṇa rulers were Buddhists, they tried to deify themselves by adopting the title of *devaputra* (son of God) and instituting the dead king's cult. The deification of the king was foreign to Buddhist theories of the origin of kingship as enunciated in the *Dīgha Nikāya*

and hardly in accord with the early brāhmaṇical theories. Although the coronation formulas of the later Vedic period refer to prayers to various gods for conferring their respective qualities on the king, they nowhere describe him as the son of God. On the contrary the Vedic coronation formulas clearly mention the human parents of the king. In subsequent times the *Arthaśāstra* makes skilful use of religion for strengthening royal authority (*JBRS*, XL, 1954, pp. 228-31), but it does not lend divinity to the office of the king. The Buddhist ruler Aśoka prided himself on being called the *devānāmpriya*, dear to gods, a title which was continued by Dásaratha, the grandson of Aśoka (*Lüders' List*, Nos. 954-6), but it was abandoned in post-Maurya times when the title *devaputra*, mentioned in 21 Brāhmī (according to *Lüders' List*) and 3 Kharoṣṭhī (according to Konow's List) inscriptions seems to have been as popular with the Kuṣāṇa rulers as *devānāmpriya* with Aśoka; the title *devavrata*, devoted to God, was confined to the Parthian king Gondopharnes (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 128).

Once the title *devaputra* had been adopted by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, theoretical justification came to be provided in a near contemporary Mahāyānist Buddhist text, *Savarṇaprābhāsottamā-sūtra*, to which attention was first drawn by Sylvain Lévi (*JA*, CCXIV, 1984, p. 1 ff.). Here the question is asked why a king born as a man is called God (deva) and why he is styled the son God (devaputra).[1] The answer is that before being born as a man he was living among the gods, and that, because the thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance, therefore he is called 'god-son.'[2] A similar explanation of divine origin of the king in the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Sānti Parvan* was probably inspired by Kuṣāṇa associations. Unlike the *Savarṇaprabhāsottama-sutra*. Manu does not use the term *devaputra* for a king but states that the king is vested with the respective attributes of eight gods (VII. 7), and asserts that even if a child the king should not be disregarded for he functions as a great divinity in the form of a human being (VII. 8). The *Śānti Parvan*, which has many verses in common with Manu and which poses the question regarding the origin of kingship practically in the same manner as the abovementioned Buddhist source, represents the original king to be the descendant of God (59th chapter in the Poona Critical edn.). Thus these three texts, one Buddhist and the other two brāhmaṇical, impart such divine character to the king as he never enjoyed before, and in all these cases the inspiration seems to have come from the Kuṣāṇa side. But the Kuṣāṇa royal title *devaputra* was not

1. *katham manuṣyasaṃbhūto rāja devas tu procyate, kena ca hetunā rāja devaputras tu procyate.* Quoted by F. W. Thomas in *B. C. Law Volume* II, p. 313.

2. *devendrāṇām adhiṣṭhāne mātuḥ kukṣau praveksyati, purvam adhiṣṭhito devaiḥ paścād garbhe prapadyate. kim cāpi mānuṣe loke jāyate, śrīyate nṛpaḥ; api vai devasambhūto devaputraḥ sa ucyate. trayastriṃśair devarājendrair, bhāgo datto nṛpasya hi; putrastvaṃ sahadevānāṃ nirmito manujeśvaraḥ.*

JA, 1934, pp. 3-4.

in accord with Indian tradition, and hence it did not find favour with other Indian rulers, subsequent or contemporary.

It has been contended by F. W. Thomas that *devaputra* was not an official title of the Kuṣāṇa rulers but a complimentary epithet given to them by their subjects (op. cit., pp. 305-320), a view accepted by U. N. Ghoshal in the *Mauryas and Satavahanas* (p. 345). Taking the hint from Lévi Thomas successfully establishes that *devaputras* are mentioned in earlier Indian literature and that they form a class of divinites (op. cit., pp. 306-310). But the use of the term in earlier literature as 'god-son' or as 'a class of divinity' does not preclude it from being used in a special sense by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. That *devaputra* was used to emphasise the divinity of the Kuṣāṇa rulers can be inferred from its justification given in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* and the explanation of the divine origin in near contemporary texts on polity. Thomas argues that this title cannot be regarded as official, for it does not occur in Kuṣāṇa coins which contain the official titles such as *mahārāja* and *rājātirāja*. On the basis of his consultation with Allan he holds that Cunningham's reading of *devaputra* on a coin of Kuyala Kara Kaphsa is an error (*ibid.*, p. 307). Even if this is conceded we may note that all the titles cannot be accommodated in the coins due to lack of space. Perhaps *devaputra* was not considered so important a title as to find place in the coins to the exclusion of such other official titles as *mahārāja* and *rājatirāja*. Thomas' contention that in India the term *devaputra* was never used as an appellation of royalty except in reference to the Yue-chi (*ibid.*, p. 319). does not lend support to his theory. Several other Kuṣāṇa titles such as *rājātirāja ṣāhi, ṣāhānuṣāhi* were also not used by Indian rulers, but for that reason they cannot be dismissed as unofficial epithets of the Kuṣāṇas. Thomas points out that direct communications in Kharoṣṭhī from Chinese Turkestan mention *maha-nuava* and *maharaya* as the titles of the king but omit *devaputra* (*ibid.*, p. 308). But this line of argument does not sustain his thesis since the other Kuṣāṇa official titles *rājātirāja* and *ṣāhānuṣāhi* are also not mentioned in the preliminary to these communications. In the face of Thomas' negative arguments, which only refer to the omission of *devaputra* in some sources, we have positive evidence to show that the title was used not only in India, but also in Central Asia, where it occurs in the Khotanese documents in Kharoṣṭhī, especially in datings (*CII*, II, i, p. lxxiv).[1] In the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions *devaputra* is mentioned along with other official titles, and hence it cannot be treated on a separate footing from them. Besides, it is applied to Huviṣka by a state official, who held the title or designation of *bakanapati* and who was the son of a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (*JRAS*, 1924, pp. 402-3). It is but natural that the officers would prefer to use only official titles. Further, the title *daiva-*

1. Unfortunately I have no information about the contents of the coins of Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva, which have been recently discovered in Russian Central Asia.

putra appears along with other official titles in the famous Allahabad Inscription, which was drafted by Hariṣeṇa, the official scribe of Samudra Gupta. He should have made no mistake in adopting an appellation which was confined to the subjects and not officially favoured by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Finally, the evidence of a Buddhist sūtra of the third century A.D. translated into Chinese in A.D. 392, in which the king of India and the king of Yueh-chih each are described as "son of Heaven" (op. cit., pp. 314-5), and the testimony of a Chinese source of the third century A.D., in which the king of Yueh-chih is described as the son of Heaven (*ibid.*, p. 318) are almost decisive, and Thomas himself finds it difficult to refute their testimony (op. cit., p. 319). Thus it is pretty clear that the title *devaputra* was officially adopted by the Kuṣāṇas. But perhaps Thomas is right in suggesting that this title was not of Chinese origin. If with Allan and Thomas we reject the reading *devaputra* on a coin of Wima Kadphises, it would appear that this title was peculiar only to the Kaniṣka group of Kuṣāna rulers, who completely supplanted the Parthian rule in north-western India in the second half of the first century A.D. Whatever might have been the source, Semitic or Hellenistic, it is undoubted that the two Parthian rulers Pharaates II and III, who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. and were the immediate predecssors of the Kuṣāṇas, had adopted the title 'god-fathered' (*B. C. Law*, Vol. II, p. 305). Apparently when Parthia had been conquered by the early Kuṣāṇas, the titles and dominions alike were appropriated by Kaniṣka and his successors. As the explanations given in contemporary texts show, in course of time the title came to be used as an important political weapon.

The Kuṣāṇas followed the practice of erecting devakulas, in which the statues of the dead rulers were housed. The term *devakula* is recorded in the inscription on the colossal image of Wima (D. R. Sahni *JRAS*, 1924, p. 402), and we have further reference to the repair of the devakula of the grandfather of Huviṣka during the reign of the latter (*ibid.*, pp. 402-3). On the basis of the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa. the term *devakula* has rightly been interpreted to mean the place where statues were erected in honour of dead potentates (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1923, pp. 98-9., H. P. Shastri, *ibid.*, pp. 558-61). Further, on the strength of the same source it is argued that this structure was a temporal temple and not a place of worship (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 98-9). But the fact that the temple in the drama bore no flag, had no divine weapons and other signs of an ordinary temple (*ibid.*) merely suggests that it was not as important as regular temples. Much should not be made of the fact that in the drama the brāhmaṇa keeper prevents Bharata from bowing before the images of his ancestors. Here we have to bear in mind the argument of the keeper that a brāhmaṇa should not bow before kṣatriya sovereigns taking them to be gods (*JBORS*,

1919, p. 560). This plea is obviously inspired by his class prejudices and is irrelevant to the kṣatriya Bharata. The term *devakula* clearly means 'deity-house', and what is more important the Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka shows that the repair of the dilapidated devakula of his grandfather by a state official was an act of religious merit intended for the increase of the life and strength of the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huviṣka (*JRAS*, 1924, p. 402, ll.2-5 of the inscription). The prevalent method of seeking the physical and spiritual well-being of the king was to erect some *stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha or to perform similar other acts of piety. Obviously in this case also the physical welfare of the king was to be achieved by performing the religious act of the repair of the devakula of his ancestor. Moreover, from the last line of this inscription (*ibid.*, l.6) it appears that something was done for the daily guests, and brāhmaṇas (*ibid.*, p. 403) who were evidently attached to the devakula as priests. Cases of such priests are to be found in the *devagaḍhs* of Rajputana (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 559).

From where did the Kuṣāṇas derive the practice of setting up devakulas? It is suggested that this system was taken over from the Romans practising it on the bank of the Tiber. (*PHAI*, 5th edn., p. 5). But the cult of the dead king was in vogue not only in ancient Mesopotamia; but also in Egypt where mortuary temples were built to enshrine the statues of the Pharoahs. Probably the Romans derived this idea from these predecessors and passed it on to the Kuṣāṇas either through direct commercial contacts or through some intermediaries. On the basis of the pre-Kauṭilyan date of Bhāsa it would be wrong to suppose that the practice prevailed in India from pre-Mauryan times (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 560) and therefore was adopted by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. The correct position seems to be different. Reference has been made to *devapitṛapujā* in Kauṭilya (ii. 6, *PHAI*, 5th ed., p. 517, fn. 2), but this does not imply that the statues of the pitaras were worshipped. Besides, Kauṭilya does not specifically refer to the worship of the dead kings. Obviously this practice was introduced by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, who have left several royal statues. The writings of Bhāsa, who seems to have flourished during the period, merely reflect the existing practice. Clearly the practice of erecting devakula was in keeping with the official title of *devaputra*, and both contributed to the apotheosis of the Kuṣāṇa kings. That the adoption of the title *devaputra* and establishment of devakulas by the Kuṣāṇas were deliberate devices to deify the kings can be deduced from the representation of divine aura round the busts of the kings on their coins. On the gold pieces of Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays of flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds like the gods of Greece. The nimbus appears on some pieces of Kaniṣka, but is much more frequent on certain gold pieces of Huviṣka, who is at once ornamented with nimbus,

flames and clouds. Vāsudeva has simply the nimbus round his head.[1] We know that the nimbus or *prabhāmaṇḍala* was especially associated with the divinities represented on the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (*IA*, 1908, p. 428). Therefore it was in order to indicate their celestial origin that the Kuṣāṇa kings got themselves represented on their coins with the nimbus, auraole, clouds or flames (*ibid.*, p. 482).

The deification of the Kuṣāṇa king served to secure him the allegiance of the subjects, of which we have sufficient evidence in the religious gifts made by some officers and individuals. Thus a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Taxila refers to the establishment of the relics of the Buddha in the Dharma-rājikā *stūpa* of Taxila by a Bactrian for the bestowal of health on an unnamed Kuṣāṇa emperor, who is described as *māharāja, rājātirāja* and *devaputra* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 129, No. 34, 1.3). Similarly another Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Afghanistan speaks of the institution of the relics of Śākya Muni for the spiritual merit of *mahārāja rājātirāja* Huviṣka (*ibid.*, I, p. 158, 1.2). The practice of making gifts by individuals and state officers for the spiritual and physical benefit of the rulers never took root in Northern India, but it continued among the later Kuṣāṇas of the north-west frontier. Thus a monastery (vihāra) was erected by a vihārasvāmin named Roṭa-Siddha-Vrddhi not only for the benefit of his relatives but also for that of the queen, princes and princesses of mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāh Jaūvla (*Lüders' List*, No. 5).

The Kuṣāṇa claim to divine power was accompanied by the unambiguous declaration of the religion they professed. The coins, which are always considered an important insignia of sovereignty, clearly indicate the faith to which they belonged. Thus the Kuṣāṇa *yavuga* Kujala Kasa, identified with Kadphises I, calls himself *dhramathidasa* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, 108, No. 19), a title which also occurs as *sacadhramathitasa* on the other coins of the Kuṣāṇas. This apparently refers to their devotion to the dharma of the Buddha. Besides, we have representation of Śiva on their coins (*ibid.*, p. 125, fn. 3; p. 155). But in spite of their proclaimed devotion to Buddhism or Śaivism the Kuṣāṇas never adopted a policy of religious persecution. On the other hand they seem to have worshipped numerous gods, Greek, Iranian and Indian, who are represented on the coins of Huviṣka (*CCIM*, I, pp. 76-84). Under their rule Mathurā was an important centre of Jainism, as would appear from the large number of the gifts of Jain images made there by lay and clerical votaries in the reigns of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Similarly the brāhmaṇical sacrificial religion was also tolerated. An inscription mentions the setting up of the

1. M. E. Drouin, "The Nimbus and Signs of Deification on the Coins of the Indo-Skythian Kings", *Revue Numismatigue*, 1901, pp. 154-66, tr. *IA*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 427.

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sacrificial post (yūpa) by a brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra after having performed a *sattra* of twelve nights (*Lüders' List.*, No. 191a). Apparently it was a policy of live and let live. But since the Kuṣāṇas showed preference for Buddhism possibly this contributed to brāhmaṇical resurgence under the Guptas, who took the place of the Kuṣāṇa power in Northern India within half a century of the end of their rule.

The above sketch of the Kuṣāṇa polity, though inadequate on account of lack of material, would show that the Kuṣāṇas introduced certain new elements in Indian polity. Some of them such as the practice of making gifts for the spiritual or physical well-being of the king, and the dual governorship in the provinces did not find suitable soil in India. But the idea of the divinity of the king made some impression on later rulers, for Samudra Gupta is compared to four different gods. Again, the office of the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and the practice of making land grants according to the *akṣayanīvi* tenure became regular features of the Gupta policy. Above all, the main characteristics of the Kuṣāṇa political system, namely the organization of hierarchical feudatory system, seems to have been adopted by Samudra Gupta in his imperial organization.

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THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE COINS OF THE KUSHĀNAS, THE KUSHĀNA CHIEFS, AND THE SĀSĀNIANS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

DR. SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY

THE gold coins of the Kushāṇas, the Kushāṇas Chiefs and the Sāsānians offer very interesting side-light on the economic and political life of the day. For this purpose we have thoroughly studied all the gold coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But unfortunately we have to reject some of them, which are attached with a ring or a hole inside.[1] Due to the negligence of the authorities concerned a few of them are missing from the cabinet. So the number of the coins utilised in this paper will not fully agree with the total number of V. A. Smith. In testing the coins we had the valuable assistance of Mr. Bose and Miss Khatun of the coin department, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Thus, a careful study of 99 coins of the Kushāṇas and others has thrown some fresh light on many problems of the Kushāṇas history.

From the point of view of gold content we may group our coins in the following categories :—

Group A

Imperial Kushāṇas

		Grains
1.	Kadphesis II	119·0
2.	Kanishka I	117·5
3.	Huvishka (= ? I gr. A.)	115·8
4.	Huvishka (= ? II gr. B)	110·7
5.	Vāsudeva (= ? I)	102·5—108·8
6.	Vāsu (= ? II. Vāsudeva) Kushāṇa	100·4
7.	Kanishko (= ? Kanishka II) ...	98·0

1. Smith's. I. P. 68-92.

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Group B

Kushāṇa Chiefs

		Grains
1.	Chhu	93·0
2.	Peyasa	91·5
3.	Sayatha	89·0
4.	Saṇa	86·6
5.	Sita	84·4
6.	Bhadra	79·5
7.	Bacharna	79·2
8.	Pāsaka	29·2

Croup C

Little Kuahāṇas

		Grains
1.	Kṛitavirja	76·7
2.	Viswa	75·5
3.	Not assignable	71·4
4.	Sarvyaśa	61·0

Group D

Kushano—Sāsānians

1.	Sāsānians	107·9 Grains

It can be very well suggested that they were minted in the same chronological order on the principle of Gresham's Law. Of course regarding the Sāsānians, their gold coins are even purer than Vāsudeva of the Imperial Kushāṇa dynasty. In this connection another economic implication should be profitably remembered. With the decline of a dynasty the gold content of their coinage are also declined. Such is the case with the Kushāṇas, the Guptas[1] and may be of many others.

With the exception of the Kushāṇa Chief Pāsaka (Table II) the average content of the gold of the K. Chiefs are definitely higher than the economically depressed little Kushāṇas. Both these groups of coins are economically much inferior to that of the early Gupta Kings.[2]

Kadphises I had probably issued no gold coins. His son and successor Kadphises II introduced gold currency along with other metallic coins. We have also to note that the average gold contents of his coins are very high. Among them number "2" of the Smith's catalogue

1. *Eco. Life of N. India* (Dr. Maity), p. 202.
2. *Eco. Life of N. India*, p. 202.

contains 100 P.C. gold. From the point of view of purity the coins of Kanishka I are less than 1½ grains to that of his immediate predecessor Kadphises II. Thus, following the principles of Gresham we can very well suggest that the Kanishka group of Kings succeeded the Kadphises.

Moreover, from a careful study of the coins we can also classify the coins of Huvishka in two groups (A & B) which may suggest the existence of two Huvishkas as it is pointed out by Dr. A. L. Basham.[1] But from the point of view of design and fabric[2] we cannot so rigidly group them.

We have no gold coins of Vāsishka at our disposal. This may, however, point to the short rule of Vāsishka. As a result of the study of the coins we can point out the existence 2 Vāsudevas (I and II) and 2 Kanishkas (I and II).

The political history of the Kushāṇas after Vāsudeva I is very difficult to follow. The most important among them are perhaps Kanishka II and Vāsu or Vāsudeva II. The former is known to us from the Ārā inscription and from his coins and the latter is known mainly from his gold coins. Vāsu or Vāsudeva II may be identical with the Yuch-chi King Po-t'ito of the Chinese annals. He sent a political mission to the Chinese king in A.D. 230.[3]

From the findings of gold coins we can reconstruct a table of geneology of the Kushāṇa Kings :—

Genealogical Table:

1. Kadphises I
2. Kadpheses II
3. Kaṇishka I
4. Vāsishka (A) — 5. Huvishka I
6. Huvishka II — 7. Vāsudeva I
8. Vāsudeva II — 9. Kaṇishka II

1. *JSOAS*, p. 77-85 (1957).
2. V. A. Smith and my examination results.
3. *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 151.

(A) We have no gold coins of Vāsudeva so far discovered. But we have excepted his existence from Dr. Basham (*JSOAS*, p. 84 ; 1957) *Age of Imperial Unity*.

The Kushāṇa Chiefs, who had perhaps ruled under the sway of the Imperial Kushāṇas, had enjoyed peace and prosperity under them That is also reflected from their gold coins. But after the passing away of the great Kusāṇas, the little Kushāṇas for sometime somehow or other maintained their existence over the Punjab and Afghanistan.

They were ultimately defeated by the powerful Śakas and Sāsānians. This political termoil has some reflection on the debased gold coins of the little Kushāṇas (Table II). On the other hand, from this study of coins we can also notice the rising power of the Sāsānians.[1]

Laboratory report of the Kushāṇa, Kushāṇa Chiefs and the Sāsānian gold coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Sr. No.	*Name of king*	*V.A. Smith catalogue number*	*Specific gravity of the coins:— (sp. gr. of pure gold 19.32)*	*Percentage of pure gold*	*General remarks*
1.	Kadphises II	1	18·92	97·9	For the betterment of further studies I have kept them according to Smith's catalogue numbers.
2.	,,	2	19·32	100·0	
3.	,,	3	19·05	98·5	
4.	,,	4	18·88	97·6	
5.	Kanishka I	1	19·20	99·2	
6.	,,	2	18·50	95·6	
7.	,,	3	19·19	99·1	
8.	,,	4	19·25	99·5	
9.	,,	4a	18·92	97·9	
10.	,,	5	19·0	98·2	
11.	,,	6	18·80	97·1	
12.	,,	7	19·07	98·5	
13.	,,	8	18·72	96·9	
14.	,,	9	18·97	98·0	
15.	,,	10	18·58	96·0	
16.	,,	10a	19·19	99·1	
17.	,,	11	18·72	96·9	
18.	,,	12	18·48	95·4	
19.	,,	13	19·28	99·5	
20.	,,	14	18·58	95·8	

1. Table II and Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 151-53.

Sr. No.	Name of king	V.A. Smith catalogue number	Specific gravity of the coins :— (sp.gr. of pure gold 19·32)	Percentage of pure gold	General remarks.
21.	Huvishka	1	18·78	97·00	
22.	,,	2	19·24	99·30	
23.	,,	3	18·97	98·00	
24.	,,	4	18·60	96·10	
25.	,,	5	19·19	99·20	
26.	,,	6	19·16	99·1	
27.	,,	7	19·09	98·7	*Group B.*
28.	,,	9	18·62	96 2	
29.	,,	10	17·68	91·4*	*very small coin.
30.	,,	12	18·41	95·1	
31.	,,	13	18·80	97·1	
32.	,,	14	19·15	99·0	
33.	,,	16	18·43	95·3	
34.	,,	18	18·71	96·7	
35.	,,	8	18·4	95·0	
36.	,,	11	18·24	94·3	
37.	,,	15	17·91	92·6	
38.	,,	17	18·05	93·3	*Group A*
39.	,,	19	18·15	93·3	
40.	,,	20	18·17	93·85	
41.	Vāsudeva	1	18·43	95·3	
42.	,,	2	18·57	96·0	
43.	,,	3	18·92	98·0	
44.	,,	4	18·51	95·6	
45.	,,	5	18·47	97·5	
46.	,,	6	18·98	98·1	
47.	,,	7	16·65	86·1	
48.	Vāsu (-? Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	1	16·69	86·2	
49.	,,	2	15·89	82·1	
50.	,,	3	15·50	80·1	
51.	,,	4	16·91	87·5	
52.	,,	5	15·50	80·1	
53.	,,	6	16·79	86·8	
54.	,,	7	16·00	82·7	
55.	Kanishko	1	17·97	92·8	
56.	,,	3	17·86	92·3	
57.	,,	4	18·84	97·5	
58.	,,	5	17·03	88·1	
59.	,,	6	16·98	87·6	
60.	,,	7	17·16	88·6	

Sr.No.	*King*	*V.A. Smith's number*	*Sp. gr.*	*Percentage of pure gold*	*General remarks*
61.	Vāsudeva	9	17·62	91·2	
62.	Sundry Chief (I) Bhadra	1	12·88	66·5	
63.	(Very doubtful)	2	12·86	68·8	
64.	(Very doubtful)	2a	13·60	70·8	
65.	S. Chiefs (II) Sayatha.	3	13·54	70·0	
66.	,,	4	14·58	75·3	
67.	,,	5	14·78	76·4	
68.	S. Chief (III) Sita	6	13·34	69·0	
69.	,,	7	14·09	72·8	
70.	,,	8	13·28	68·5	
71.	,,	9	14·15	73·15	
72.	,,	10	14·09	72·8	
73.	S. Chief IV. Saṇa.	11	14·05	72·6	
74.	S. Chief V. Bacharna.	12	13·09	67·6	
75.	S. Chief VI. Chhu.	13	15·91	82·3	
76.	S. Chief VII. Pasaka.	14	8·63	44·7*	*It is greatly alloyed with brass and looking almost black.
77.	S. Chief VIII. Peyasa.	15 (Addenda) (p. 127)	14·68	75·9	
78.	Little Kushāṇa I. Kṛitavirya.	1	12·31	63·7	
79.	,,	1a	12·38	64·0	
80.	,,	2	11·51	59·52	
81.	Little Kushāṇa II. Sarvyasa	3	10·44	54·0	
82.	L. Kushāṇa III. Viśwa	4	12·17	62·9	
83.	L.K. (IV.) Not Assignable.	5	11·95	61·8	
84.	,,	6	12·15	62·87	
85.	,,	7	12·42	64·3	
86.	,,	8	12·46	64·5	
87.	,,	9	12·39	64·0	
88.	,,	10	12·38	64·0	

Sr.No.	King	V.A. Smith's number	Sp. gr.	Percentage of pure gold	General remarks
89.	Not Assignable	11	12·14	62·9	
90.	,,	12	11·92	61·7	
91.	,,	13	12·15	62·9	
92.	,,	14	12·39	64·0	
93.	,,	15	10·04	52·0	
94.	,,	15a	8·81	45·6	
95.	Kushano-Sāsānian	1	16·70	86·45	
96.	,,	2	16·20	83·75	
97.	,,	3	16·54	85·75	
98.	,,	4	18·70	96·6	
99.	,,	5	18·24	94·3	

Table II

Abstract of Table I, showing pure gold content of coins :—

Group No.	King	Average weight in air (grain)	Average Percentage of pure gold	Average content of pure gold (gr. grains)	General remarks
1.	Kadphises II	121·10	98·5	—119·0	
2.	Kanishka I	120·45	97·67	—117·5	For the betterment of further studies I have kept them according to Smith's catalogue. But for economic studies please see the re-arrangement in the front pages.
3.	Huvishka (B)	119·70	96·05	—110·7	
4.	Huvishka (A)	123·60	93·45	—115·3	
5.	Vāsudeva Kushāṇa	107·85	95·23	—102·5	
6.	Vāsu (-? Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	120·80	83·66	—100·4	
7.	Kanishko	107·10	91·15	—98·05	
8.	Vāsudeva	119·20	91·20	—108·	
9.	Sundry Chief (I) Bhadra	119·01	66·86	—79·5	
10.	S. Chief II Sayasha	120·5	73·91	—89·0	
11.	S. Chief III Sita	118·80	71·25	—85·4	
12.	S. C. IV Saṇa	119·20	72·60	—86·6	

Group No.	*King*	*Average weight in air (grain)*	*Average percentage of pure gold*	*Average content of pure gold (gr. grains)*	*General remarks*
13.	S.C. V. Bacharna	117·00	67·60	—79·25	
14.	S.C. VI. Chhu.	118·00	82·30	—93·0	
15.	S.C. VII. Pāsaka	65·30	44·70	—29·2	
16.	(VIII) Peyasa (Addenda)	120·25	75·90	—91·5	
17.	Little Kushāṇa Kṛitavirya	123·00	62·40	—76·7	
18.	L. K. Sarvyasa	112·80	54·01	—61·0	
19.	L. K. Viśwa	120·00	62·90	—75·5	
20.	Little Kushāṇas (IV) Not Assignable.	118·60	60·05	—71·4	
21.	Kushano-Sāsānian.	120·80	89·87	—107·9	

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DID PURUGUPTA ISSUE COINS?

SRI BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

JOHN ALLAN, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, published a gold coin from the Hoey collection which he described as follows[1]:—

Obverse: King, nimbate, standing left; holding bow in left hand and arrow in right; garuda standard on left; beneath left arm the name '*Pura*' written vertically with a crescent above; uncertain marginal legend.

Reverse: Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left, and fillet in right hand; symbol on left; on right the legend '*Śrī Vikrama.*'

Allan also attributed three other coins of similar type but without the legend '*Pura*' to the issuer of the abovementioned coin, because on these species the legend '*Śrī Vikramaḥ*' occurs just as in the case of the abovementioned specimen.[2] The said scholar also thought that the marginal legends on the obverse of these coins begin with 'para' or 'parama.'[3]

Thus Allan divided the Archer Type coins of Puragupta (?) into two varieties, variety 'A' having the name '*Pura*' in field and variety 'B' without having such a name.[4]

R. D. Banerji observed long ago that Rai Radha Krishna Jalan Saheb of Patna possessed two gold coins on which the name 'Pura' is very distinct.[5]

These are the only specimens which are alleged to have been issued by Puragupta (later discoveries show that the name should be Pūru or Puru, and not Pura as was thought by Allan, Banerji and others). Scholars are however not unanimous regarding the name of the issuer of these coins.

Mr. S. K. Saraswati is the first scholar to observe that Allan was wrong in reading the name '*Pura*' on the coin of the Hoey collection. He points out that the first letter beneath the left arm of the king shows a square shaped figure with the right vertical line extended downward. Allan reads it as '*Pu*'. '*Pa*' in the Gupta alphabet is also like a square shaped letter, but without any horizontal top stroke. As the top stroke is clear on the specimen concerned, the letter in question looks like '*bu*', '*ba*' being a square shaped letter in the Gupta script.[6] The vertical line of the second letter has an upward bend, which one can imagine to be joining the apex of the line. Thus the letter cannot be '*ra*', but should be '*sha*' or '*dha*'. Mr. Saraswati prefers the latter.[7]

Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the *akshara* read by Allan as '*pa*' looks like a '*ba*', and that Mr. Saraswati may be right in suggesting the name as '*Budha*'.[8] Dr. R. C. Majumdar comes to the same conclusion on a close examination of a cast of the coin, though he thinks that the question cannot be finally decided till clear specimens of this type are available.[9] Mr. P. L. Gupta points out that the two coins of the same type as that of the Hoey collection specimen have the legend '*Budha*' clearly written on them, and as such Mr. Saraswati's reading is correct. One of the two coins, mentioned by Gupta, is acquired by Banaras Hindu University and the other by the Bharat Kala Bhavan.[10]

The B.H.U. specimen, described by Mr. A. K. Narain, has the figure of the king on the obverse dressed as an archer. The name '*Budha*' is written vertically below the king's left arm. The marginal legend reads as '*paramahitakārī rājā śrī Budhagu(ptaḥ)*'. The reverse is the same as that of the coin of the Hoey collection. The Bharat Kala Bhavan specimen is identical with the B.H.U. specie so far as type and devices are concerned, the difference being in the absence of the marginal legend on the obverse. Similarity between these specimens, which can be definitely ascribed to Budhagupta, and the coin in the Hoey collection leads Dr. Narain to support Mr. Saraswati's reading.[11] Dr. A. S. Altekar also thinks that though the first letter on the coin in the Hoey collection can be read both as '*pu*' and '*bu*' and the second letter can be taken as a mis-shapened '*dha*' or a blurred '*ra*', the abovementioned new specimens have proved that on the coin in question the intended reading is '*Budha*' and not '*Pura*'.[12]

Some scholars, on the other hand, do not accept Mr. Saraswati's reading. Sir Richard Burn observed that Mr. Saraswati's emendation was not beyond doubt. In his opinion closed '*pa*' can be found in the first letter of the word 'Prakasaditya' occurring on certain coins of Gupta fabric. Further, according to him, the second consonant of the king's name on the specie of the Hoey collection does not resemble '*dha*'.[13] Mr. Jagannath observes that the legend is definitely 'Puru'

and not 'Budha'.[14] Mr. N. N. Dasgupta fails to see eye to eye with Mr. Saraswati on this point, as he thinks that the second letter on the coin of the Hoey collection has the appearance of a 'ra', rather than 'dha'.[15]

Allan said in not too distant past that the legend in question may be read as '*Bura*', and, as such a word does not convey any sense, it should be emended as '*Pura*'.[16] In the opinion of Dr. B. P. Sinha the attempt to read '*Budha*' on the coin of the Hoey collection is palpably wrong. Examples of closed '*pa*', according to Sinha, are not rare in the Gupta epigraphy. He states that in the second line of the Nalanda seal of Vishṇugupta there is a close topped '*pu*'. The second letter in question cannot be '*dha*', as the semicircle of '*dha*' attached to the straight line is inward in the epigraphy of the period. On our coin, Sinha continues, if there is any faint trace of a semicircle, it is outward. So the name should be '*Pura*'.[17] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri was also inclined to think that Purugupta actually issued coins.[18] Dr. R. K. Mookerji does not pronounce any judgment on this point.[19]

Thus scholars are divided in their opinions regarding the reading of the king's name on the coin in the Hoey collection, which is now in the British Museum. The purpose of the present paper is to re-examine the reading and to offer a definite solution of the problem.

The first letter of the monarch's name on our coin is definitely '*bu*'. Dr. Sinha's argument that close topped '*pu*' can be noticed in the Nalanda seal of Vishnugupta does not prove his case. No doubt '*pu*' of the word '*putra*' in the second line of the said inscription has a horizontal stroke on its top, but the engraver here omitted the line of the letter on the left side.[20] It is probable that the scribe put inadvertently the left side stroke on the top of the letter. The value of this suggestion is enhanced by the fact that in other cases of '*pa*', inscribed in the abovementioned record, though the upper portions of right- and left-side strokes are ornamented by adding curved lines on top, there are discernible gaps between these upper lines. Such gaps between the horizontal stroke situated on the upper part of the left vertical stroke and the top of the right vertical may also possibly be found in the letter '*pra*' on the photographs of the coins of 'Prakāśāditya' published in the *Catalogues* of Allan and Smith. Even if the top of '*pa*' on these coins is closed, as according to Sir Richard's suggestion, the first letter of the sovereign's name on the coin of the Hoey collection cannot be read as '*pa*'. This becomes clear after noticing the general features of the letter '*pa*' of the Gupta script. It has the left line slightly curved outward at the bottom. Then the line moves with a slant to right and is again slightly curved inward at the top where it finishes with a little curved horizontal stroke. On some coins, however,

the left vertical line moves almost straight upward without forming a curve, but it is never so much slanting to left as in the case of the first letter of our coin. Hence the last mentioned letter can never be considered to be a specimen of '*pa*'. In the case of this letter, two vertical strokes,—left one very much inclined to left and right one almost straight—, on the bottom horizontal line have been joined by a top horizontal and thus have formed a hollow square which can only indicate '*ba*' of the Gupta alphabet.

About the second letter, the present writer likes to point out a new feature which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. A close examination of the letter shows that here two vertical lines, one straight at the right and the other slightly slanting at the left, are joined together by two curved lines one on top and another at bottom. Thus the figure has a squarish or an oval shape having open space in between the lines. This reminds us of the oval shaped '*dha*' occurring in the Kahaum inscription of Skandagupta.[21] These considerations indicate that the second letter on the coin in question seems very likely to be '*dha*'. Thus the name of the king should be read as '*Budha*'.

The reading of the first letter is beyond doubt, while that of the second, though very probable, may be questioned by some scholars. They can even argue that the right-side stroke of the second letter, which appears to the present writer as '*dha*', may be a part of a letter of the marginal legend, fragments of which can be traced on the coin in question. So, for the sake of argument, let us take the reading as '*Bura*'. The word has to be emended either as '*Pūru*', (and not '*Pura*')[22] or as '*Budha*'. If it is emended as '*Pūru*', then the engraver should be considered to have written the first letter wrongly, and also to have forgotten to supply the medial 'u' in the second letter. If, on the other hand, the intended reading is '*Budha*', then the only mistake committed occurs in the second letter. As the name consists of only two letters, acceptance of the first reading implies one's support to the absurd proposition that the scribe has committed mistakes in respect of both the letters. Such a thing will not happen if the legend is read as '*Budha*'. So the reading '*Budha*' should be preferred to '*Pura*'.

Thus the issuer of the coin of the Hoey collection is Budhagupta, as has been suggested by Mr. Saraswati. Regarding the two coins in the Jalan collection attributed by R. D. Banerji to 'Puragupta', it has to be noted that no such coins are now traceable, and in the absence of even casts or photographs of these species it is difficult to accept the proposed ascription. Mr. P. L. Gupta, however, offers a solution to solve this problem of attribution. He states that on one of the envelops of the coins in the Jalan collection is written in green ink the word '*Puraha*' with an interrogation. As R. D. Banerji was fond of green

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ink and used it all along his life, the word '*Puraha*' might have been written by him. While he took '*Pura*' as the name of the issuer, he could make nothing out of '*ha*' and hence put the note of interrogation. To this he probably referred while making statement on the coins of '*Pura*' in his article. Mr. Gupta thinks that what has been read as '*Puraha*' should be correctly deciphered as '*parahi*', a part of the word '*parahitakārī*'. The last mentioned word occurs in the legend '*parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ śrī Budhaguptaḥ*'. Mr. Gupta is of opinion that on the coins seen by Banerji only fragments of this legend had been preserved.[23] The probability of Mr. Gupta's assumption is indicated by the fact that an almost identical marginal legend occurs on a specimen, which can be definitely attributed to Budhagupta.[24] Mr. Saraswati informs me that there is a coin of Vainyagupta in the collection of Mr. N. Sing Singhi of Calcutta, on which the word '*parahitakārī*' occurs. If this information is correct, the coins seen by R. D. Banerji may be considered to have been issues either of Budhagupta or of Vainyagupta.

The above discussions show that the coin of the Hoey collection was definitely issued by Budhagupta. The specimens seen by R. D. Banerji were also very probably minted by Budhagupta. The B.H.U. specie, which has the name '*Budha*' and the marginal legend '*paramahitakārī rājā śrī Budhaguptaḥ*' on the obverse and the legend '*śrī vikkrama*' on the reverse, also belongs to Budhagupta. The same king is also alluded to on the B.K.B. specimen, which has the same type and devices as those of the specie of the Hoey collection, occurs the legend '*śrī vikkramaḥ*' on the reverse, but not the name of the king on the obverse. The identity between the reverse legend of these specimens and that of the coin of the Hoey collection, which Allan took to be an issue of 'Pura' (he knew the name as such), led him to attribute them to Puragupta (Pūrugupta). But as the coin of the Hoey collection is really an issue of Budhagupta, these species should also be assigned to that ruler. That this ascription is correct can be proved with the help of other evidences. The marginal legend on some of these specimens begins with '*parama*' and that on the coin of the Hoey collection commences with '*para*'.[25] These letters in the margin, as Dr. Narain points out, are nothing but parts of the word '*paramahitakārī*', which occurs on the B.H.U. specie of Budhagupta.[26] This fact renders the abovementioned ascription extremely probable.

We may now come to the conclusion that all the coins discussed in this paper were probably issued by Budhagupta. These Archer Type gold coins can be divided, as Dr. Narain says, into three varieties. The first variety has on the obverse the name of the king and marginal legend. The coin of the Hoey collection should belong to this category. The

second variety preserves the name of the king but no marginal legend on the obverse. The third has only the marginal legend.[27]

The above considerations reveal that there is no coin available at present which can be definitely ascribed to Pūrugupta.[28] This absence may be explained by the assumption that he did not rule at all, or that he ruled for a very short period, which did not give him any opportunity to start his own coinage.

REFERENCES

1. *Allan, Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, p. 134, pl. XXI, 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. cii, 134.
3. *Ibid.*, p. cxxii, 134.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
5. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. I, part I, p. 75.
6. *Buhler's Palæographical Chart*, Tafel IV, Col. VII, No. 29.
7. *Indian Culture*, vol. I, pp. 691-92.
8. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I, p. 328, f.n. 1.
9. *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 171, f.n. 1.
10. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, p. 255, f.n. 5.
11. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XII, pp. 112-115.
12. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. cxvi; *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 268.
13. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* (1935 A.D.), vol. X, p. 11.
14. *Summaries of papers submitted to the XIIIth All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur*, 1946, Sec. IX, p. 11.
15. *B. C. Law Volume I*, p. 618.
16. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 12.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 12; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXIV, Part III and IV, p. 19.
18. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., p. 586.
19. R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, 2nd ed., p. 108.
20. *Epigraphic Indica*, vol. XXVI, pp. 285 ff and plate.
21. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, pl. ix, 1.11; *Buhler's Palæographical Chart*, Tafel IV, Col. V, No. 25.
22. Scholars often forget that the name on the coin should be Pūru or Puru, and not Pura. The name 'Puru' is very clear on the seal of Narasimhagupta. (*Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material, MASI*, no. 66, pl. XIII, no. b). The name seems to be written as 'Puru' on the seal of Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta (*MASI*, no. 66, pl. VIII, no. d). Hirananda Sastri's reading of the name as Pura is wrong. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has pointed out the name as 'Pūru'.
23. *IHQ*, vol. XXVI, p. 225, f.n. 5.
24. *JNSI*, vol. XII, p. 113.
25. Allan, *CCGD*, p. 134.
26. *JNSI*, vol. XII, p. 114.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Whether the coins of Sri Prakasaditya should be attributed to Purugupta, as Allan has done (*CCGD*, p. 135), is a problem which still awaits final solution.

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A NOTE ON THE DECLINE OF CHAULUKYA POWER UNDER BHĪMADEVA II

PROFESSORS NISITH RANJAN RAY

THE Chaulukyas of Gujarat, also known as the Solankis, came into prominence in western India after the decline of the Imperial Pratihars of Kanauj. They ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad Peninsula for nearly three centuries and a half from the middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 14th Century. So far as western India is concerned the history of the Chaulukyas is the link between the so-called Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history. That the Chaulukyas played a notable rôle in early mediaeval history of India, that under the auspices of this dynasty western India became the centre of political gravity for some time at any rate, that under Siddharaja Jayasinha (1094-1148) and Kumarapala (1148-1174), the Chaulukyas nearly succeeded in reviving the ideal of imperial unity bequeathed by the Pratiharas of Kanauj and that a fairly large number of rulers belonging to this dynasty were liberal patrons of art, architecture and religion—are facts well-known to students of Indian history. It is also well-known that towards the close of the reign of Bhimadeva II (1178-1241) the Chaulukya fortunes suffered an eclipse and that his rule from the second quarter of the 13th century became more nominal than real. Referring to the condition of the Kingdom during the later part of Bhimadeva's reign says one chronecter[1]—" The kingdom of the young ruler was gradually parcelled off by powerful ministers and provincial chiefs." In another chronicle[2] it is stated that " Bhima's position became serious as the chieftains forcibly ate away portions of the Kingdom." That there is substantial truth in these statements is borne out by the evidence of epigraphic as well as non-Chaulukyan literary records. While Prahladana, the author of Vyayago-Pārtha-Pārākrama[3] refers to a conflict between Bhimadeva II and Prithviraja III of Ajmere, we have it on the authority of Sridhara's Devapattan Prasati[4] as well as epigraphic records[5] that some time between 1205 and 1215 the Paramara rulers

1. *Kīrti-Kaumudī*, ii, v. 61.
2. *Vasanta-Vilāsa*, iii, v. 37.
3. *Vyāoga Pārthaparākrama*, 3.
4. *Devapattana praśasti*, u. 42.
5. Piplainagar and Bhopal grants of Arjunavarman, *JASB*, 1886, vol. V, and *JAOS*, vol. VII.

Suvatavarman and Arjunavarman won victories over Bhima Chaulukya. There is also evidence[6] in support of a claim of victory over the Chaulukyas on behalf of the Yadava King Singhana of South India. There is further evidence[7] to show that about 1225 A.D. a ruler name Jayanta Sinha ruled with Anahilapataka as his capital as Maharajadhiraja Parameswara. Thus the second half of Bhima Chaulukya's reign was a period of internal troubles as well as of conflict with the neighbouring princes, in which fortunes were generally on the side of the enemies of the Chaulukyas. Some time later a prince, named Lavanaprasad, went to the length of concluding a treaty with the Yadava King in his own name.[8] In the circumstances the conclusion becomes irrestible that though Bhima continued in name to hold the crown, the Chaulukya dynasty had practically lost all its power.

In accounting for the decline of the Chaulukya power under Bhimadeva Dr. Ray[9] holds, among other factors, the religious revolution in Ajayapala's reign and following it, the alienation of the rich Jain community as primarily responsible. The revolution referred to above is as follows :— Under Kumarapala there had been an ascendancy of the Jains, in general, and of Hemachandra in particular. Kumarapala, who had no son was caused to be poisoned to death by his nephew Ajayapala, who on succeeding to the throne reversed his predecessor's policy and began to prosecute the Jains. It is this reversal of policy towards the Jains which has been characterised by Dr. Ray as a 'religious revolution'. It appears, however, that more importance has been assigned to Kumarapala's association with Jainism than is due to it. Merutunga[10] and following him several Chroniclers claim that Kumarapala became a convert to Jainism. This is however opposed to epigraphic evidence. Most of Kumarapala's inscriptions begin with an invocation to Siva and not to any Jain deity. The Veraval Inscription[11] distinctly describes him as 'Māhesvaranripa-agrani'. Even Jain Chroniclers admit that he worshipped Somanatha whose temple he had caused to be re-built. The contention of the Jain writers to the effect that under influence of Jainism, Kumarapala prohibited the slaughter of animals altogether is not corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions, The two inscriptions[12] which forbade slaughter of animals on certain specified dates of the month were issued by two feudatories of the king and not by the king himself. Thus while the fact that Kumarapala abjured his faith and became a convert to Jainism or that he put a

6. *BE*, vol. I, part II, pp. 240-48.
7. *IA*, vol. VI, p. 198.
8. *Lekhapaddhatr, BG.* vol. I, pt. II, p. 241.
9. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 1025-1026.
10. *Prabandha-Chitāmaṇi*, 129-188.
11. *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. III, pp. 1-19.
12. *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, (R. G. Bhandarkar), pp. 205 and 172, *EI*, XI, p. 44.

wholesale ban on the slaughter of animals cannot be readily conceded. it cannot be denied that he came under the influence of Hemachandra. Dr. Ray is inclined to the view that this partiality of Kumarapala for Jainism was due to political consideration rather than sincere love for Jainism itself. The Jains formed the backbone of the commercial, industrial and banking life and were the richest community in Gujarat. In Dr. Ray's opinion[13] it was probably with a view to securing the aid of this prosperous community that he extended his patronage to the Jain faith and its adherents. Dr. Ray is further of the opinion[14] that the problem of succession towards the end of Kumarapala's reign came to be mixed up with the question of religious rivalry and that his nephew Ajayapala secured the throne in spite of the opposition of his enemies, among whom was included Amrabhat, son of Udayana, the Jain Prime Minister of Kumarapala.

Assuming that the relation between Kumarapala and the Jains was cordial and that the king was deeply under the influence of Hemachandra, it does not necessarily follow that the decision of Kumarpala to extend patronage to the Jains was actuated by any material consideration *viz.* " winning the support of the powerful and wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jain."[15] As a matter of fact Kumarapala in extending toleration to the Jains was merely following in the footsteps of some of his predecessors. There is epigraphic evidence[16] to show that during the reign of Mulapaja I Yuvaraja Chamundaraja made land-grants in support of a Jain temple. Chamunda's son, Durlabharaja, is also known, on the authority of literary records[17] to have extended patronage to the Jains. King Karna is also described in traditional accounts as a patron of the Jain faith. Siddharaja Jayasimha, too, extended his patronage to Jainism by causing a Jain temple to be built. If the fact of the patronage on the part of these rulers to Jainism has not been (and in fact it cannot be) ascribed to any material consideration, there seems to be hardly any justification for ascribing any motive of material interest to Kumarapala's patronage of the Jain faith. Nor is there much conviction in the suggestion that the alienation of the Jains was to any extent responsible for the decline of the Chaulukyas under Bhimadeva or that the alienation of the Jains was the outcome of their persecution at the hands of Ajayapala. The stories of Jain persecution by Ajayapala do not find mention in earlier Jain records. Merutunga (a much later authority) is the first among the Jain Chroniclers to refer to Ajayapala's anti-Jain activities. The early

13. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 997.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 998.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 997.
16. *Bhāratīya-Vidyā*, vol. I, p. 78.
17. *Kharatara-gachcha*, *IHQ*, vol. XI.
18. *Pārśvanātha-Carita*, Peterson MSS, 1886-92, XCI,

Jain Chroniclers like Somaprabha, Arisimha, Balachandra and Udayaprabha have uniformly spoken in laudatory terms of Ajayapala. If the author of Parsvanatha-Charita is to be believed, Ajayapala was the patron of a Jain Scholar named Vardhamana, " who brightened his court by his disquisitions on the Jain doctrine." From the testimony of these writers it is clear that in spite of being a follower of the Brahmanical faith, Ajayapala was not intolerant towards the Jains. Both Merutunga and Jayasimha Suri, who refer to his anti-Jain activities, belong to a much later period and their evidence cannot reasonably be given more credence than that of the earlier chroniclers. It should also be noted that even according to Merutunga's own testimony the persecution of Ajayapala was not confined to the Jains alone. Kapardina, the orthodox Brahman minister of Ajayapala, was also a victim of royal persecution. In the circumstances the theory of Jain alienation is seen to rest on slender foundations. The rôle of a villain in which Ajayapala is made to appear in the pages of Merutunga and Jayasinha Suri is difficult to reconcile with the well-ascertained fact that he left to his successor an undiminished Kingdom and an efficient army which proved itself more than a match against the Muslim invaders. The decline of the Chaulukyas under Bhimadeva, as such, cannot be explained in terms of a theory of religious revolution culminating in the alienation of the Jains. Nor was the decline due to two consecutive periods of minority under Mularaya II and Bhimadeva, these being periods of success at home and against the muslims. The weak and vacillating personality of Bhimadeva (nick-named as Bhola Bhima) revealed on the attainment of his majority would perhaps afford a better and more convincing explanation of the decline of the Chaulukyas towards the latter half of the 18th century.

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INSCRIPTION OF THE CHĀLUKYA-VĀGHELA KING ŚĀRAṄGADEVA AT THE RAMJI TEMPLE, OLD IDAR STATE

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta

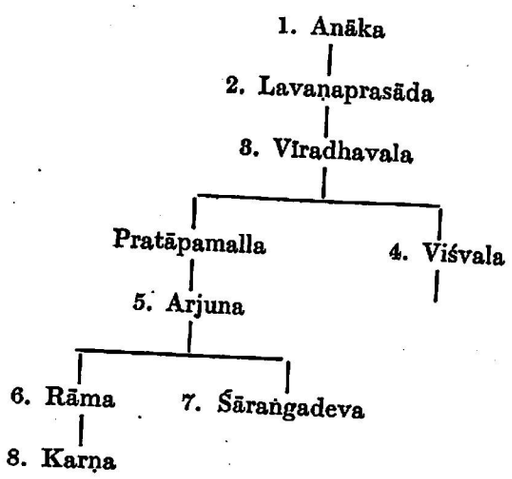
This inscription of the Chālukya-Vāghela king Śāraṅgadeva was found on the wall of the Ramji temple, Bhavanath Mahadeb, old Idar State. I edit this inscription from the fine estampage supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

This inscription which measures 8 ft. 6 in. in length and 6½ in breadth consists of 12 lines. The characters used in this inscription belong to the North Indian Nāgarī type and there is no doubt that they are to be referred to the 15th century A.D. as it contains a date of V.S. 1854 in line 12. (*Svasti śrī nṛpati Vikrama-kālātīta saṁvat* 1854 *varshe*). The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse. The metres have been indicated at the beginning of the text.

The inscription in question belongs to the Chālukya dynasty. (*Chālukyā-nvaya-saṁjātaḥ*, l.8, verse 5). The first ruler mentioned in this inscription is *Anāka*. In two other inscriptions he is called Arṇarāja.[1] There is no doubt that Anāka is to be identified with Arṇarāja as in the inscription under edition and in two above-mentioned inscriptions the successor is *Lavaṇaprasāda*. The son and successor of *Lavaṇaprasāda* is *Vīradhavala*. The son and successor of Vīradhavala is *Viśvala*. There is no doubt that Viśvala is the same as Viśāladeva mentioned in some other inscriptions.[2] His elder brother was *Pratāpamalla* who did not reign. (*Śrīmad-Viradhavalasya putro-bhud-vīralakshmaṇaḥ / Śrīmat Pratāpamallastu pratāpa-krānta-maṁḍalaḥ /* 8 *tasyā-nujanmā prathitaḥ pṛthivyāṃ śrī Viśvalākhyo nṛpatiḥ prachṃḍaḥ*). Therefore it cannot be understood by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar called Pratāpamalla as the younger brother of Viśāladeva.[3] From this inscription there is no doubt that he is the elder brother of Viśvala identified with Viśāladeva. This shows that though Pratāpamalla was the elder son of Vīradhavala, yet he did not reign. Probably he breathed his

1. Bhandarkar's List, nos. 488, 1524.
2. *Ibid.*, nos. 547, 549, 556, 557, 577, 579.
3. Bhandarkar's List, Genealogical table of "the Chālukya-Vāghelas of Anahillapataka" as given on p. 385.

last during the lifetime of his father leaving behind his son Arjuna. After the death of Viśāladeva his nephew Arjunadeva became the king. Arjuna is succeeded by his son Rāma. (*Tasya = ṁgaṁjaḥ saṃpratirājate so = śrī-Rāma-nāma nṛpa-chakravartī | saṁtarpya dānair = dvijasatta-māṃ = śchenā = varuddha = valiru = gradhanvā* // 11). According to the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Arjuna is succeeded by Śāraṅgadeva[4]; but this inscription gives impression of a different nature. It seems that Śāraṅgadeva is the younger brother of Rāma just as in the Rāmāyaṇa the younger brother of Rāma is Lakshmaṇa. (*Śāraṁgadeva(ḥ) śuśubhe dharāyaṃ Rāmānujo = Lakshmaṇa-sannibha = ścha*). According to the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Arjuna is succeeded by his son, Śāraṅgadeva; but this inscription shows that Arjuna is succeeded by his son, Rāma. Rāma's younger brother was Śāraṅgadeva. After Śāraṅgadeva Rāma's son Karṇa became the ruler. Therefore we can form the following genealogical table which is different from that given by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar :—



We can also form the genealogical table of another aristocratic family from the information supplied in this inscription :—

Information about this family is contained in verses 17-20, 31.

4. *Ibid.*

We can also form the genealogical table of another family from the information supplied in this inscription :—

Rājiga
|
Rājyadeva
|
Nāladevī
|
Vaijalladeva
|
Rupī
|
Mandalika

Information about this family is contained in verses 22-25.

We can also form the genealogical table of another family from the information supplied in this inscription :—

Sūtravedha
|
Subuddhi

Information about this family is contained in verse 33.

So far as historical facts are concerned, there is one which is important. It is mentioned in line 9 that the king Viśvala, defeating the ruler of Dhārā, destroyed the city of Dhārā. This shows that he defeated the Paramāra ruler whose capital was Dhārā.

The object of this inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Sun by Vaijalladeva in memory of his parents. This inscription is dated 1354 V.S. as mentioned in 1.12. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to A.D. 1296-97.

Text

(Metres : vv. 1-2, Sragdharā ; vv. 3, 6, Upendravajrā ; vv. 4, 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, Anushṭubh ; vv. 7, 9, 10, 16, 18, 19, 24, Upajāti ; vv. 11, 12, 20, 29, Indravajrā ; vv. 21, 32, Śārdulavikriḍita ; vv. 25, 28, Vasantatilaka).

1. (Oṁ) namo Vighna-rājāya / Yenai-te dānaveṃ-drā nija-karanikaraiḥ suditaś-chāṃ-tarikshe nityam pratyusha-kāle rajanija-timiraṃ trāsitaṃ divya-bhātiḥ / chakre dhāmnāṃ gajenā-vani-talama-ruṇa sadro chhidyādororuka prathama-samuditaḥ sapta-saptiḥ sa sūryaḥ / *1* trasyate yasya nāmnā vividha-vidhikritā vyādhayaḥ sarbbadā.

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2. ptāḥ/saṃpadyaṃte tavai-vā-khila-mala-rahitā saṃpada-sarma-sādyaḥ / aiśvarjjaṃ bhogayuktaṃ sa kṛda-pi hṛdaye dhyāna-matreṇa sadyaḥ (/) so-yaṃ vṛṃdārako vaḥ śamayatu duritaṃ bhūribhas-tīvra-bhānu / *2* samasta-viśvasya vivodha-karttā ghanā = ṃdhakārasya tathāśuhaṁtā / abhishṭa-kāryyasya sadā vidhātā sa vo raviḥ pātu sadā prabhāte / *3* jagatāṃ mauli-māṇikyaḥ surā-sura-namaskṛtaḥ /

3. prāṇināṃ prānadaḥ sūryyaḥ pātu vaḥ puṇya-karmaṇaḥ / *4* Chaulukyā-nvaya saṁjātaḥ *Anāko* jagatī-tale / Surāshṭraṃ nija-nāme-va śāsitaṃ nija-vikramāt / *5* tadaṃ-gabhutaṃ *Lavaṇa-prasādaṃ* dhura(ṃ)-dharaṃ vaṃśa-karaṃ nṛpāṇāṃ / samudhṛta yena rasatalāṃ-tat dvijāścha vedāś-cha punar-vabhūvuḥ / *6* tasyā-pya-bhūt sūnuru-dārakīrtiḥ śrī vīra nāma para-chakra-marddī arāti-saṃmohakaraṃ cha te-.

4. na kṛtaṃsusāreṇ a mahā-havaṃ cha / *7* śrīmad-*Vīra-dhavalas-ya* putro-bhūd-vīra-lakshmaṇaḥ / Śrīmat *Pratāpamalla*-stu pratāpa-krāṃta-maṃḍalaḥ / *8* tasyā-nujanmā prathitaḥ pṛithivyāṃ śrī *Viśvalā*-khyo-nṛpatiḥ prachaṃḍaḥ / *Dhārā*-dhināthaṃ samare vijitya purīṃ viśālāṃ sa-vabhaṃja *Dhārāṃ* / *9* svasye-shṭa-vaṃohoḥ sakalaṃ tanū-jaṃ tama-*Arjunā*-khyaṃ nara-deva-pūrvvaṃ / saṃsthāpya rājye sakalaṃ gaṅgārṇavata prapede.

5. rāti-mukta-māṃsaḥ / *10* tasyā = ṁgaṁjaḥ saṃpratirājate so = śrī-*Rāma*-nāmā nṛpa-chakravartī / saṁtarpya dānair = dvija-sattamāṃ = śchaenā = varuddho = valiru = gradhanvā / *11* *Sāraṃga-deva* (ḥ) śuśubhe dharāyāṃ Rāmānujo = Lakshmaṇa-sannibha = ścha / dushta-svabhāvaṃ samare cha *Gogaṃ* digaṃtareshu / *12* śrī Rāmā-dauras-jātaḥ *Karṇa*-nāme = ti viśrutaḥ / śruti-sāstrā = virodhena so = yam pālayati prajaḥ / *13*.....te..

6. ma bhavatu śāsvataḥ / gotreyaṃ gauravaṃ = yātu parjanyo = varshatu dhruvaṃ / *14* Chaulukya-vaṃśa-vistāraḥ saṃkshepāt kathito mayā / sāmagreṇā-samartho = haṃ stotuṃ vistarato guṇān / *15* vakshye samastaṃ-dhavalauka sāṃ taṃ vaṃśāṃ yathā pūrvvam = kalmasaṃ cha / rataṃ sadā Vishṇu-pāda pavitre utkaṃṭhitaṃ śaṃkara-pūjane cha / *16* śaṃḍilye pravare gotre *Mahādevo-hya* = bhut purā / śaṃkarā = rādhane yukto = dāna-dharma-parāyaṇa / *17*.

7. (.) śvara kīrtimatāṃ varishṭhaḥ tasyā = ṃgabhūtaḥ pravala-pramāthī / sudhāṃśu-nāthasya lalāṭa-deśe vibhūshaṇasya = chchhalato = vatasthe / *18* tadaṁ = gasūr = bhūtala-bhūshano = yam *Muṃjāladevo* = mara-mārga-gaṃtā / āsvādya lokaṃ kapilāṃ-cha dhenuṃ-sa = go-grāhārthe maranaṃ jagāma / *19* khaḍga-tīvra-ghana-vāṇa-saṃyuto - yaṣṭi-śaktivara - kuṃḍa-paṭṭiśaḥ / vaddha-tūṇa-dṛḍha-śṛṃgiṇī karo = gogrāha-maraṇamā = śu so = gamat /

8. *20* jātaḥ kāṃta-viśāla-bhāla-vadano-Muṃjāladevo-bhaṭaḥ kashṭaṃ kutsita-janma-jāla-gahanaṃ saṃtīryate gograhe / viṃdyād-bhārata bhāratīṃ kathama = haṃ Karṇaḥ suvīro yathā sha(kha)ḍgaṃ pāṇi-tale nidhāya paramaṃ sūryasya lokaṃ gataḥ / *21* kāśyape vimale gotre *Rājigo*-bhūn = mahāmatiḥ / raṃjitaṃ yasya rāgeṇa sakalaṃ gotra-maṃḍalaṃ / *22* tasye-ha naṃdano jātaḥ *Rājyadeva*-kriyāpa-

9. raḥ / tasyai = kā duhitā jātā *Nāladevī*-ti viśrutā / *23* atīva sā satya-ratā sukīrttiḥ dharme sthitā pūrvva-sati-svabhāvā / tasyāḥ prajajñe ripumauli-śūlaḥ *Vaijalladevaḥ* śava-śakti-bhaktaḥ / *24* vaira-chanā = rchana-rato nara-tosha-kārī *Vajalla* esha nara-kīrttita-kīrttiḥ kāṃtaḥ / dāna-pradāna-vimukhīkṛta-kalpa-vṛkshaḥ śikshā-karaḥ sakarayor = valato ripunāṃ / *25* tena śrī-bhṛgu-kuṃḍa-

10. sya jagatyāṃ deva-vāsaṇe / mātṛ-pitroḥ samuddiśya kāritaṃ sūrya-mandiraṃ / *26* go-bhū-tila-hiraṇyā-di pātre datvā = hya = ne= kāśaḥ / *Muṃjala-svāmī-devasya* tenā = kāri niketanaṃ / *27* saṃpadaḥ kalabha-karṇa-chanchalā jīvitaṃ cha jalajāṃshu dusthiraṃ / yauvanaṃ cha yuvatī-kaṭākshā-vat vikshyayor = kka-nilayam nyakārayat/ *28* vā da.....vad = bhānu.....raśmi.

11. jālaiḥ / yāvat soma-sītatāmāva-heta tāvad vaija prāpayasvā = śva-bhīshṭaṃ / *29* yasya Vaijalladevasya naṃdanā-deva-*Rupiṇaḥ* / madano *Maṃḍalikā*-khyaḥ mahīpālo = (thā jāyata) / *30* sūtā *Muṃjaladevasya Hṛidevī*-tya = bhidhīyate / sutaṃ sā susvaye suraṃ *Saṃgrāmā* = khyaṃ mahābhujaṃ / *31* yasyā = sye = hṇivirājate suvimalā rāmasya vāṇī dhruvā / tasye = yaṃ vihitā pra.....chhā sā.

12. -rkka-tama-lakshmaṇa-yukta...palāsāksha-khayā yo saukshāntirataḥ kalāsu nipuṇaḥ kāvyeshu kartā svayaṃ / *32* *Sutravedhā*-ṃgajātena nāyakena *Suvuddhinā* / iyaṃ praśastir = utkīrṇā prasādād = Viśvakarmaṇaḥ / *33* svasti Śrī nṛpati-*Vikrama-kālātīta saṃvat 1354* varshe Śobhana-nātha saṃvatsare dakshiṇāyana-gate surye kārttika sudi 11 ravau praśastiri = yam.....bhavat / maṃgalaṃ.

1533

CONFLICT BETWEEN SĀṄKĀŚYĀ AND VIDEHA AND THE FORMER'S IDENTIFICATION

DR. YOGENDRA MISHRA

THE *Rāmāyana* of Valmīki records a conflict between Sāṅkāśyā under Sudhanvan and Videha under Sīradhvaja Janaka which may be summarised as follows :—

Sudhanvan, king of Sāṅkāśyā, invaded Mithilā, the capital of Videha, and demanded the bow of Śiva, a valuable possession of the Videhan kings, and the beautiful Sītā, the daughter of Sīradhvaja Janaka, the then reigning king of Videha. The aggressor was resisted and ultimately defeated. Sudhanvan was killed in battle. Sāṅkāśyā became an appendage to Videha. A branch dynasty was established there with Sīradhvaja's younger brother Kuśadhvaja as the king of the territory.[1]

Sāṅkāśyā is described as a well-defended city. Its ramparts were ranged round with pointed weapons. It was laved by the river Ikshumatī and resembled the celestial regions or the aerial car, Pushpaka.[2]

It is usually identified with "Sankisa or Sankisa-Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikshumatī, now called the Kālīnadī, between Atranji and Kanauj, and twenty-three miles west of Fatehgarh (in the district of Etah)[3] and forty-five miles north-west of Kanauj."[4] To us it appears that there has been some confusion between the famous Sāṅkāśyā which was a Buddhist[5] and Jaina[6] religious centre and the one which became the seat of the government of Kuśadhvaja after its aggressive king Sudhanvan had been killed in battle.

1. *Rām.*, I, 71, 16-19.
2. *Rām.*, I, 70.3.
3. Brackets inserted by ourselves to avoid confusion.
4. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd edition (London, 1927), p. 177. This 'famous Sankisa is situated in Farrukhabad district (Agrawala, *Paṇini*, p. 71). Also see A.G.I., pp. 420-427, 705-706. Rangacharya accepts this identification when he says : "That a scion of the Videha dynasty found himself seated in such a distant place beyond the intervening Kosala and other kingdoms indicates the political enterprise of the Videhan kings on occasions" (*Vedic India*, Part I, p. 418).
5. *Rām* A. G. I., pp. 423-424, 705-706.
6. Kamta Prasad Jain, 'Saṅkiśā as a Jaina Tīrtha', *IHQ.* 1929, pp. 142-148.

The only strong argument in favour of the usual identification is that the river Ikshumatī flows there. But there are some serious difficulties which compel us to disagree with the usual view. One of them is that if Sudhanvan started for his campaign, what became of the several intervening territories between Sāṅkāśyā and Mithilā, especially Kosala, Kāsī[7] and Vaiśālī? Did they not put any obstacle in the way? The king of Kosala is reported to have had very cordial relations with that of Mithilā.[8] It would not have been profitable to make a campaign against such a distant king. It would have required much expenditure which the tiny state of Sāṅkāśyā would not have afforded. Moreover, from the context it appears that the messengers of Sīradhvaja Janaka went to Sāṅkāśyā and brought Kuśadhvaja to Mithilā the same day.[9] Thus if Sāṅkāśyā had been what it is identified with, the messengers would have taken more than eight days in going to that place and bringing Kuśadhvaja to Mithilā, because we know that the messengers of Janaka while going to Ayodhyā passed three nights on the way.[10] Hence the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also does not like us to believe that Sāṅkāśyā was situated at such a great distance from Mithilā; on the contrary it was near Videha probably somewhat near its border.

There are certain essential points which should not be lost sight of while discussing the identification of Sāṅkāśyā :—

(1) Many variants of the town are available, *e.g.*, Sāṅkāśyā,[11] Sāṅkāśya,[12] Sāṅkāśī,[13] Kāśya,[14] and Kāśī.[15] Was it situated on a road to Kāśī, or in an area which abounded in kāśa grass? [16]

(2) Sāṅkāśyā was situated on the Ikshumatī river. This river is known to the *Purāṇas*[17] also, as on its bank was the hermitage of Kapila. It is also mentioned at another place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[18] But we need not be discouraged by the mention of this river. The Ikshu is the name of the three rivers in the *Purāṇas*, while there are also rivers known as Ikshudā and Ikshulā.[19] Thus there might be another Ikshumatī river at this place[20] or it may simply mean a river in the sugarcane-producing area.

7. *Cf. Rām.* I, 18.23 ; A.I.H.T., p. 276.
8. *Rām.* I, 18.21-22.
9. *Rām.* I, 70, 5-8.
10. *Rām.* I, 68. 1.
11. *Rām.* I, 70.3.
12. *Ibid.*, I, 71. 16, 19.
13. *Vish.* IV, 5.29.
14. *Vā.* 88.18.
15. *Bd.* III, 64.19.
16. The Himālayas are said to abound in *Kāśa* and *śaśāṅka-kāśa* (*Mat.* 118.34).
17. *Bhāg.* V, 10.1. *Vish.* II. 18.53.
18. *Rām.* II, 68. 17.
19. V. R. R. Dishitar, *Purāṇa Index*, vol. I, pp. 182-183.
20. So says the *Mithilāmāhātmyakhaṇḍa* (quoted in *A History of Maithili Literature*, vol. I, Allahabad, 1949, p. 11, n. 30).

(3) Probably the Sāṅkāśyā kingdom was near some mountain or forest[21] as we hear that a later king of this place visited his cousin in the forest. We are, however, not sure as to what extent this point may help us.

(4) There does not seem to be any intervening territory between Videha and Sāṅkāśyā, as otherwise the Sāṅkāśyā king would have been prevented from carrying out a raid against Mithilā.

(5) As already pointed out, a quick messenger from Mithilā might go to Sāṅkāśyā and come back the same day. Thus the distance was comparatively much shorter.

(6) It was a well-defended city and a seat of government. Later also, it continued to be so. There are in North Bihar some places of local importance which are famous as seats of government in former times. One such place near the Gandak or the Kosi might be Sāṅkāśyā. For example, Jankigarh (also called Chankigarh)[22] in Champaran district may be a probable site for this purpose.

Hence our conclusion is that this Sāṅkāśyā of the *Rāmāyaṇa* lay somewhere in Champaran or Saran or the Kosi Valley in North Bihar and not in the Farrukhabad district of Western U.P.

21. *Vish.* VI, 6. 11 (*durgāraṇya*), 20 (*vana*).
22. *CHĀNKĪ = SĀNKĪ = SĀNK(ĀS)Ī* ?
This is, however, only a tentative suggestion.

BRAHMANISM IN ANCIENT KAMBUJADEŚA

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

The ancient History of Kambujadesadeśa, modern Cambodia, is a record of the achievements of Hindu Brahmanical rulers whose ancestors, the two Kauṇḍinya Brāhmanas, had gone from India at the Divine call. According to traditions, preserved in Chinese annals and ancient native records,[1] the first Kauṇḍinya Brāhmaṇa married the Kambuja empress after overpowering her. He got the ancient kingdom of Funan and in return gave to the native inhabitants Brahmanical thought, ritual and literature. This event dates back to the first century A.D. though there are traces of early Brahmanical settlements even in the second century B.C. The archæological remains at Oc-eo[2] about 16 miles from the present coast of the Gulf of Siam and at several other places suggest the immigrants found the native population in a stage of neolithic culture. The superior Hindu culture was carried to that country by the merchants and adventurous people. This movement remained unabated for a long time, as we find references to Brahmins from India coming every now and then, settling down in this country, and marrying in the Royal family. This gradual and progressive influx of the Brahmins was responsible for completely Indianising this country with Hindu names of cities, patronage of Brahmanical religion, and Sanskrit as the official language of the country. Caste system also found a place in the social organisation. The immigrants had infused new spirit in the country of their adoption which was derived from their rich heritage. Buddhism was rather late in reaching this country, but it had a few patrons like Sūryavarman I and Jayavarman VII who were true to the religion of the Tathāgata, but were equally devoted to the State religion—the cult of Devarāja.

Among the Brahmin immigrants may be mentioned the two Kauṇḍinyas who came here in the first and in the fourth or early fifth centuries A.D. According to the History of the Liang Dynasty[3] the

1. History of the Liang Dynasty: Pelliot, *BEFEO*; III. p. 268; *JGIS*, VI. p. 139; Majumdar, *Inscriptions* of *Kambuja* (Abbr. *MIK*, Nos. 2, 26 Ap. 34, No. 111, p. 283.

2. Malleret, *An.Bib.Ind.Arch.* 1940-47, p. LI f.; Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises L'Indo Chine et D'Indonesie* (Abb. *Etas. Hind*, p. 69 ff).

3. *Op. Cit.*

first Kauṇḍinya Brahmin belonged to India. He heard a supernatural voice asking him to go and reign in Funan. The people of the place welcomed him and elected him as their king. He introduced there Indian laws, manners and customs. This legend suggests that there was a new wave of immigration from India. According to a Chinese legend,[4] the kingdom of Touen-Sien, a dependency of Fu-nan had more than a thousand Brahmins, while a Khmer legend refers to Java Brahmins coming to Kambujadeśa. It seems that the influence of the Java Brahmins had some political repurcussion, and so a Brahmin named Hiraṇyadama was sent from India to teach Tantric rites to Sivakaivalya whose family honoured the post of Royal purohit for nearly two hundred and fifty years. This move was to curb the influence of the Java Brahmins, and that Kambuja might no longer be dependent on Java.[5] The Brahmin immigrants married Royal princess. Agastya from India married Yaśomati,[6] and a Brahmin Duvākara was wedded to Indralakshmī,[7] daughter of king Rājendravarman. This inscription mentions his birthplace on the river Kalindi (Yamuna) probably Vrindavana which was associated with the legends of Lord Krishna. Another Brahmin named Sarvajnamuni, born in Āryadeśa[8], came to Kambujadeśa, and his descendants occupied high ecclesiastical offices. There are references to Brahmins from Kambujadeśa visiting India. Śivasoma, the guru of Indravarman, was the grandson of Jayendrādhipativarman, maternal uncle of Jayavarman II, and he learnt Śāstras at the feet of Bhavagn Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the hands of all the sages.[9]

The inscriptions are decisive in suggesting that Brahmanism in all its phases—ranging from ritualism to Bhaktism, and from ascetism to Polytheism flourished in this country beside the worship of Siva in pantheistic as well as Linga forms, Vaishṇavism and the different forms of Vishṇu, the Trimūrti and numerous Brahmanical gods and goddesses. We find the installation of the compound deities Sambhu-Vishṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, and Hara-Achyuta. These compound deities were also popular in Northern India in that period. There are also references to Vedic sacrifices, and ascetic orders with the result that one feels that ancient Kambujadeśa had a full-fledged Brahmanical society practsing the same pantheistic, ritualistic and eclectic form of worship associated with Brahmanism.

Here we might refer to some concrete instances on all these aspects as noticed in the records.

4. Pelliot, Quelquess texts Chinois hindouises : Et. Asiat : *EFOE*, vol. II, p. 248 ; Quoted Coedes, *Etats Hind*, p. 69.
5. *MKI*, No. 152, p. 362 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 60, p. 76. V. 5.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 111, p. 285.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 191, p. 548.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 54, p. 58.

Śaivism in a modified form was accepted as the state religion, and even the Buddhist emperors accepted it. The cult popularly called Devarāja[10] was in essence a synthesis of three particular streams of thought—the setting up of a Liṅga on a raised pyramid symbolising the essence of royalty, the deification of royalty, and ancestor worship. Tantrism was closely connected with this cult, and the Indian Brahmin Hiraṇyadāma particularly taught *Vrahvina śikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Śirascheda*, to Śivakaivalya. Nothing is known about the first three texts, but the last one might have something to do with the head offering motif which is very well known in Indian sculptures, and is also mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Hitopadeśa*. This cult represents simple Śiva-Śakti worship in addition to deification of ancestors and the divine element in the king linking the Church and the State. The famous temple of Bayon became almost like the West Minster Abbey in whose many shrines were commemorated the gods and great men of the country.

Pure Saivism in its pantheistic form is evinced from the references to the setting up of Śiva-Pārvatī statues in inscriptions as well as in sculptures. An inscription[11] from Vat Vihar is associated with a temple of the same name which contained a fine sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī, the latter being seated on the left thigh of the god. King Indravarman also installed the statues of Śiva and three of Devi in A.D. 879.[12] A sage named Amarabhava who was honoured by Yasovarman and Indravarman[13] made an image of Śiva out of a golden disc, of the type called Utsavamurti, for taking out in a procession. The best sculptural representation of Śiva and Pārvatī is on a Tympanum from Banteai Srei showing Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāśa which may be compared to the similar one from Ellora and Elephanta.

The linga form of Śiva worship is noticed in a number of inscriptions of different periods from the time of Citrasena,[14] another name of Mahendravarman, in the early seventh century A.D. to the time of Rajendravarman in the ninth century[15] A.D. numbering about ten. These two dates must not be construed as *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the Liṅga form of Śiva worship in Kambujadeśa, although the popular god Śiva in later times took the form of composite deity Śiva-Vīshṇu, designated by various names, like Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa,[16]

10. Ref. Author's Paper, *Proc. Ind. His. Cong*, Cal. 1955, for consolidated references.
11. *MIK*, No. 7. p. 8.; BEFEO, XXXV, p. 36.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 55, p. 61ff.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 75, p. 157ff.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 19ff.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 93, p. 198ff.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 51, p. 56.

Śambhu-Vishṇu[17] (Liṅga), Hara-Achyuta,[18] Hari-Hara[19] and others. Various names are given to Śiva, as for example, Rudra, Śambhu, Giriśa, Trayambaka, Śaṅkara, Maheśvara, Iśāna, and certain other names given after the doṇors like Pīngaleśvara,[20] Siddheśvara,[21] Kadambeśvara[22] Srivijeśvara[23] etc. Siva is mentioned as the greatest god, a great ascetic. The Trimūrti—Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Maheśa—are also referred to in many records. One particular inscription[24] refers to the installation of the images of eight forms of Śiva, probably in eight temples.

The Śaivites were divided into a number of sects. An inscription[25] of the time of Jayavarman I mentions a sacrificer who was well-versed in the rites of *Pancharātra* sect. An earlier inscription[26] from Phnom Prah of the time of Bhavavarman records donations of Vidyapushpa, an official of the king who was the head (āchārya) of the Pāśupatas. This inscription is very important as it suggests the existence of this popular Śaiva sect in Kambujadesa, a fact which was also noticed by the Chinese traveller to that country, Chou Ta-Kuan (A.D. 1296) who visited Angkor Thom. This pilgrim seems to allude to the Pāśupatas under the name Pa-ssu-wei. It is suggested by Pelliot[27] that the Pāśupatas existed as distinct sect and there are some indications that the ideas which prevailed among the Lingayats also found their way thither.

The recognition of Śiva as a supreme deity, the ultimate spirit from which emanated both Brahmā and Vishṇu is unquestioned in the religious history of Ancient Kambujadesa. He is the presiding deity of the Bayon. The four heads surmounting the forty towers formerly supposed to represent Brahma, are according to Elliot,[28] meant for Lingas bearing four faces of Śiva, with three eyes in each head. Such a form of Śiva is not uncommon, and is noticed in several Indian icons. Śiva never had an exclusive character, but was also associated with other gods, and Brahmanical worship, too, was centred in several others like Vishṇu, Brahma and others.

Vishṇu is invoked in a number of records. He is given five names, *viz.* Vāsudeva, Trivikrama, Padmanābha, Madhudvis, and Puṇḍarīkāk-

17. *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 18.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 150.
19. *Ibid.*, No, 25, p. 30.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 88.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 93.
22. *Ibid.*, No. 30.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 16.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 66, p. 67, v. 25.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 27A, p. 560.
26. *Ibid.*, N0. 10, p. 11.
27. *Op. cit.*
28. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I.

sha. One of the earliest inscriptions[29] records a donation by prince Gunavaraman to the image of god Vishṇu who is called Cakratīrthsvāmin. He is also invoked by Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen of Jayavarman, who installed an image of the god in Kurumbanagar which was inhabited by the Brahmins. This is the earliest inscription from Kambujadeśa and the king has been identified with Jayavarman, the king of Funan who ruled from c. 475 to 514 A.D. Their son Guṇavarman consecrated a footprint of Vishṇu called Cakratīrthasvāmin in another record.[30] The deity is also given other names like Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava and Śrīpati. A temple of Hari was established in the year 883 A.D. by Amritagarbha,[31] son of Jayendravarman. Another record[32] of the time of Yaśovarman refers to the installation of an image of Vishṇu and some endowment to the temple by the maternal uncle of this king. Prithvīndrapaṇḍita, a relation of Yajñavara who was the preceptor of king Jayavarman V installed an image of Vishṇu.[33] Vishṇu is also invoked as Vāsudeva, Trivikrama, Padmanābha, Madhudvis, and Puṇḍarīkāksha An inscription from Bati of the time of Jayavarman IV records the invocation of Vishṇu which is in perfect agreement with the fresco paintings in two temples in the same region depicting Krishṇa lifting the Govardhana mountain, and Vishṇu covering the world in three steps.[34]

It is equally interesting to note a feeling of amity between Śaivism and Vaishṇavism in this country's history. There are several references to Śaiva and Vaishṇava benefactions by the same donor. An officer of King Bhavavarman who was probably the governor of a city or district set up a liṅga of Śiva, an image of Durgā, one of Śambhu-Vishṇu, and gave a donation to god Śiva of Dhanvipura, and another to Vishṇu Trailokyasāra.[35] The next part of the same inscription mentions an image of Lakshmī, another of Vishṇu, a donation to god Śiva of Dhanvipura, and a donation to Vishṇu Trailokyasāra. We also noticed that Śivāchārya, the head of the Śaivas was born in a Vaishṇava family. This spirit of amity is also evident from several contemporary records from Northern India, and Vaishṇava temples were placed in charge of Śaivāchāryas.[36]

The two deities were sometimes merged into one, and there are several references to the setting up of the compound deity. A vassal chief of Tāmrapura[37] installed an image of Śiva-Vishṇu. A temple was

29. *MIK*, No. 1, p. 1.
30. *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 2.
31. *Ibid.*, No. 58, p. 71.
32. *Ibid.*, No. 77, p. 161.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 109, p. 282.
34. *Ibid.*. No. 88, p. 577.
35. *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 18.
36. *Ibid.*,
37. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 80.

dedicated to Hara and Achyuta, united in one body, *viz.* Hari-Hara and the limits were fixed by king Yaśovarman.[38] Another inscription[39] refers to the establishment by Krishṇamitra of the god Hari-Hara (Vishṇu-Śiva) called in the Khmer part Yajñapati Śiva. This is in conformity with the Indian tradition, as we notice several Hari-Hara images in Indian art, and the history of the Liang Dynasty also refers to the setting up of such images of Śiva and Vishṇu united in one body.[40]

Besides these, there are references to various other Indian gods and goddesses like Gaṇeśa,[41] Śālagrāma,[42] Āditya,[43] Svayambhu,[44] and a few others who may be synonymous of Śiva or Vishṇu, as they are named after the donors. They are Prahanteśvara, Candrāyananātha, Nīlakeśvara, and a few others. Brahmā, as a part of the Trinity is also mentioned in several records.[45] The goddesses propitiated by the people were Durgā,[46] Gaṅga,[47] Indrānī,[48] Vāgeśvari,[49] Bhagavatī,[50] Caturbhujā,[51] and Bhavānī. Their temples were set up either independently or along with other gods. It appears from a perusal of these records that Bhaktism was a dominating feature in the religious life of the country. People were conscious of the fruits of evil deeds, and hence were anxious to propitiate gods and goddesses.

It is interesting to learn that golden images were also set up in temples, as for example, that of Tripuṇḍamaheśvara, and of Vishṇu under the name of Tribhuvanarājña, and his consort Bhagavati.[52] Sri King Udayaditavarman gave a gift of a golden statue of Lakshmi. Jayavarman VII dedicated two golden images of Nāṭyeśvara (dancing Śiva) and an image of his father. We also notice references to Suvarṇa Liṅga and Maṇi Śiva.[53] This reminds us of the famous comment on the Sūtra of Pāṇini—*Jīvikārthe cāpaṇya*[54] which refers to unsalable images which were kept for worship in temples, but aso served incidentally as means of livelihood to their owners.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 150.
39. *Ibid.*, No. 43, p. 42.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, No. 60, p. 74.
42. *Ibid.*, No. 40, p. 50.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, No. 94, p. 185.
45. *Ibid.*, No. 61.
46. *Ibid.*, Nos. 56, 60, 97.
47. *Ibid.*, No. 56.
48. *Ibid.*, No. 92.
49. *Ibid.*, No. 40.
50. *Ibid.*, No. 26A.
51. *Ibid.*, No. 148, p. 352.
52. *Ibid.*, No. 157, p. 400.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 564.
54. *C. Mahābhāshya.*

The Pauranic deities had not overshadowed either the Vedic sacrifices or ascetic orders. Despite the fact that the worship of the popular deities associated with Brahmanism was notable in India at the time when the first batch of Brahmins came to this country, Vedic sacrifices continued to be performed by these Brahmins. Śivāchārya was the *hota* or sacrificial priest of four successive kings-Iśānavarman II, Jayavarman, Harshavarman, and Rājendravarman.[55] During the reign of Sri Udayadityavarmadeva, Jayendra Pandita was the Royal Guru, and he performed various religious ceremonies beginning with *Bhuvanādhva* and *Brahmayajña*. He performed the Mahotsavapūjā in accordance with *Vrahguhya*.[56] Sūryavarman celebrated his grand literary ceremonies (*sastrotsava*) and distributed to the priests large amount of fees. The king performed *Laksha-homa* and *Koti-homa*.[57] The hota of king Jayavarman was Vidyāsūri.[58] There is a reference to a sacrificer versed in the rites of *Pañcharātra*.[59] A *Mālinī* named Madhyadeshā celebrated a sacrifice called *Brahmayajña*.[60]

Asceticism and ascetic orders were not unknown in ancient Kambujadeśa. A holy congregation of the ascetics of Śivasthāna is mentioned in the Phnom Sandak inscription.[61] Sūryavarman II honoured an ascetic named Binnachala,[62] while another one named Sikhasiva figured prominently in another record.[63] One inscription refers to Udasins[64] while another mentions the chief of ascetics.[65] They also led the life of an householder by marrying, Umā, daughter of Samgrāma, was the wife of the ascetic Mahidharavarman.[66] Generally people were dissuaded from this course. The ladies were not failing in ascetic practices.

It would, thus, appear that neither age nor distance stood in the way of the expansion of Brahmanical religion, thought, and culture in ancient Kambujadeśa, in all its phases from Vedic Yajñas to the worship of the popular deities. The theory of Karma and rigid rules of conduct were conterminous. Śaivism was the state religion with the cult of Devarāja as its most prominent feature. Vaishnavism was equally popular. The two were sometimes merged into one with the compound deity. Hari-Hara as the venerated one. It is rather difficult to consider the religious history of this country except as a continuous process of that stream of thought which had been sweeping over the land of its origin for ages.

55. *MIK*, No. 120, p. 823. 824.
56. *Ibid.*, No. 152, p. 369.
57. *Ibid.*, No. 168.
58. *Ibid.*, No. 191.
59. *Ibid.*, No. 27 A.
60. *Ibid.*, No. 131 A, p. 667.
61. *Ibid.*, No. 147.
62. *Ibid.*, No. 166.
63. *Ibid.*, No. 78.
64. *Ibid.*, 100 E, p. 584.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 87, p. 175
66. *Ibid.*, No. 175.

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BRAHMANISM AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY BUDDHIST TEXTS

DR. MADAN MOHAN SINGH

THE 7th and the 6th centuries B.C. proved to be very fertile field for the rise and spread of new religious movements. An old Buddhist text speaks of 63 schools of philosophy,[1] many of which were probably non-Brahmanical. But such statements seem to be exaggerations. The early Buddhist texts generally refer to six main heretical sects, which flourished during the days of the Buddha.[2] There were no doubt several religious teachers, who had established their respective orders, but we find only the Buddha and Mahavira, who were able to gather large numbers of followers around them.

Though people favourably responded to the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the exponents of the new religious ideaologies of Buddhism and Jainism, yet it is revealed from the Buddhist literature that Brahmanism remained the dominant religion of the age. Buddhism spread only in the region known as the Majjhima-desa in the Buddhist Canons. It no doubt proved to be an important religious sect in the Majjhima-desa, but the major portion of the population does not seem to have embraced Buddhism. The beliefs, superstitions and practices of the vast majority of the common folk had nothing to do with the doctrinal side of the various schools. Even the Buddha did not oppose the prevalent customs, except those which caused slaughter of animals. The social order remained unshaken; religious beliefs and superstitions of the masses remained practically as they were before the advent of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. In fact Buddhism was to a great extent genuine Brahmanism in its texture. It shared Brahmanism in its dominant religious ideas such as the conception of Sorrow, Deliverance, Desire, *Karman* and Rebirth. It did not share a few ideas with Brahmanism such as the latter's belief in the authority of the Vedas, the efficacy of animal sacrifices and so on.

The Buddha introduced radical reforms both in the doctrinal as well as the practical side of religious life, which were directed in good part against Brahmanism. Buddhism and Jainism both adopted in their

1. *CHI*, vol. I.
2. *DN*, I. 47-49, *MNI*. 198, 250; II. 2; Su. Ni. III. 6.

ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had been already fixed by their Brāhmaṇa antagonists. The rules laid down for Jain monks show closer similarity to those of the Brāhmaṇa mendicants.[3] In various matters of religious practices the Buddhists and Jains were not innovators.

Though the Buddhists and Jains revolted against the authority of the Brāhmaṇas and the efficacy of the Vedic Yajñas and rituals, they did not go against the prevalent customs and practices of the people, but they tried to replace a few of them by similar disguised practices in order to attract the masses. They tried to get rid of those Brahmanical practices which involved killing of life. In case of Yajña, the Buddha opposed the slaughter of animals, but approved a Yajña performed otherwise.[4] He is silent about the Pākayajñas and the Pañchamahāyajñas. People used to consult the Brāhmaṇas for interpreting their dreams.[5] This belief of the common folk was not overlooked by the Buddha; and hence he is described as one who could interpret dreams better than the Brāhmaṇas.[6] People believed in the efficacy of benediction by priests. The Buddhists prescribed chanting of the Maṅgalasutta;[7] the Jains introduced eight Maṅgalas.[8] They further praised the selfless and enlighted Brāhmaṇa. Though they challenged the orthodox view of the high position of the Brāhmaṇas, they placed the Kshatriyas above all, and valued the purity of blood. Thus we find that popular beliefs and customs did not die out with the advent of novel religious outlook. And, it can be said that Brahmanism, which had already assimilated all popular cults, did not receive a set-back due to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and that the popular religion was in spirit nothing but popular Brahmanism.

It is obvious from the Buddhist texts that Brahmanism had two aspects, *viz.*, the Higher and Popular. The complete picture of higher Brahmanism is represented by the Āryaṇyakas, Upanishads, Gṛihyasūtras, Dharmasūtras and so on; it held good in the case of the Brāhmaṇas in particular and the Dvijas in general. The Buddhist writers also refer to the religious practices of the Brāhmaṇas; but the orthodox Buddhist literature refers only to those practices which it intends to criticise, and hence it does not reveal the complete picture of higher Brahmanism. But it adds to our knowledge of Brahmanism of the period during which it was compiled.

3. Jacobi, *Jain Su.* Introduction.
4. *DN*, I. 141-2.
5. *SN*, I. 76; Jā. III. 43-44.
6. *Jā.* I. 385.
7. *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 3.
8. *Aup. Su.* Sec. 49.

The Buddhist sources disclose that the Sotthiyas and the Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas of the age were custodians of the Vedic religion or higher Brahmanism, which was mostly sacrificial. The Buddhist literature refers only to animal sacrifice which it vehemently criticises.[9] But it does not mention other forms of Yajñas which did not involve loss of life. As already observed, the Buddha was not against it.

Performance of Yajñas was an important aspect of Brahmanism as in Vedic period. The Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas sometimes performed sacrifices for themselves, and sometimes officiated as priests in the Yajñas performed for kings. Descriptions of the preparations of the Mahāyajñas of the Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta of Magadha,[10] of the Brāhmaṇa Uggatasarira of Sāvatthi[11] and of king Pasenadi of Kośala[12] throw a good deal of light on the method of Yajñas. Animals sacrificed included cows, bulls, steers, heifers, goats, sheep, poultry, pig, horses, elephants and so on,[13] which shows that animals like elephants and bulls, which were not sacrificed during the Vedic period, were also killed in the Yajñas. The number of animals for sacrificing had also gone high; sometimes each in the number of 500 or 700 were killed. As the Buddhist writers give exaggerated accounts of the Yajñas like killing all living beings[14] on account of their Brahmanical antagonism, all that they say may not be true.

It is revealed from the Buddhist sources that performance took place of the Assamedha, the Purisamedha, the Sammāpāsa and the Vājapeyya sacrifices.[15] The interpretation of the term purisamedha as human sacrifice is doubtful. It appears that it has been mentioned by way of tradition. It has also been suggested that it meant corn sacrifice.

Yajñas were performed with grandeur. It has already been observed that animals in huge numbers were killed. Trees were cut for constructing sacrificial posts (Yūpas).[16] Sometimes a sacrificial pit was dug and the numerous victims were fastened to the stakes. Fastening animals to the stakes is not Vedic. Probably it was a new development. Multitudes of people must have gathered to witness the sacrifices. Brāhmaṇas enjoyed considerable respect of all sections of society, and when a Yajña like that of the Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta took place it was quite natural that people may have flocked to see it. The great Yajñas of the Kassapa brothers at Uruvelā were eagerly attended by the people

9. *e.g.*, Dhamma-charitya-sutta of *Sutta-Nipāta.*
10. *DN*, I. 127.
11. *AN*, IV. 41.
12. *SN*, I. 76.
13. *DN*, I. 127; *SN* I. 76; *AN*, IV. 41; II. 42; 207; *Jā.* III. 44.
14. *Jā.* III. 44.
15. *SN*, I. 76; *AN*, II. 42; *Su-Ni.* II. 7. 20.
16. *DN*, I. 142; *AN*, IV. 42.

of Aṅga and Magadha.[17] Yajñas were attended by big feasts, offerings, gifts, distribution of charities and so on.[18] Brāhmaṇas received liberal gifts such as cows, beds, garments, women, chariots, carpets, and palaces filled with corn.[19] The picture of the Yajñas thus revealed by the Buddhist sources is similar to that disclosed by the Brahmanical sources, except a few exaggerations. There is mention of the Vedic *ṛishis*, like Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Yamadagni and Bhṛigu.[20] It is said that hymns composed by these *ṛishis* were sincerely repeated by the Brāhmaṇas.[21] Here we find that the Buddhists were acquainted with the Vedic *ṛishis* and that they were against the practice of repeating these Mantras composed by them. By this period Vedic texts had become more important than the gods. The Brāhmaṇas also appear as teachers representing various Vedic schools, such as the Addhariyas (Aitareyas), Tittiriyas (Taittiriyas), Chhandokas (Chhāndogyas), Chandavas (?) and so on.[22] It would appear from such references that a section of the Brāhmaṇa community sincerely followed the Vedic religious tradition. They worshipped Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Iśāna, Prajāpati, Brahmā, Mahiddhi, Yama and son on.[23] Among these gods all are Vedic, except Iśāna, who is frequently referred to in the *Gṛihya Sūtras*.[24] The Brāhmaṇas invoked them and offered them prayer.

When the Buddhist sources use the terms Devadhammikas and Devavatikas to distinguish the masses from the ascetics as the worshippers of gods,[25] and when Pāṇini refers to the devotees of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as Vāsudevaka[26] we are led to assume that the cult of Bhakti was in existence.

The Vedic god Brahmā retained his popularity during our period. The Buddha is not found criticising his worship, but he is described as the highest god by the Buddhist writers. New development that took place as regards him is that various Brahmās were conceived for worshipping such as Sanat Kumāra, Prajāpati, Sahaṁpati and so on.[27]

The Vedic god Indra described in the Brahmanical as well Buddhist literature as the lord of gods, residing in heaven appears as the most

17. *SBE*, XIII. 124.
18. Law, *Early Texts*, p. 205.
19. *Sū.Ni.* II. 7. 20-82.
20. *DN*, I. 239 ; *MN*, II. 200 ; *AN*, IV. 61.
21. *DN*, I. 104, 239.
22. *DN*, I. 237.
23. *DN*, I. 244.
24. *DN*, I. 245.
25. *Chulla-Niddesa*, p. 178 ; Law, *Early Texts*, p. 195 ; *IHQ*, vol. III, p. 251.
26. *India as known to Pāṇini*. pp. 358-60.
27. *MV*, I. 5.4. ; *DN*, I. 244 ; *SN*, I. 219, *KS*, 1. 281, 191-2, 298, *AN*, 11, 21.

popular deity. He is mentioned by various names such as Sakka,[28] Vāsava,[29] Maghavā[30] and so on. The Buddhist literature enables us to know about the activities, his residence etc. more than the Brahmanical sources. It represents him as one whose throne grows hot when somebody performs extraordinary merit ;[31] and he is always under the fear of losing his Sakkahood.[32] He is also described as descending to this world for helping the virtuous[33] and punishing the evil-doers.[34] He is all-seeing,[35] and hence is called the thousand eyed.[36] But he is not eternal and one can be born in the heaven as the Sakka on account of his merit of virtue.[37]

The Buddhist literature gives us more information than the Brahmanical sources about his abode, gardens and so on. He resides in the palace known as Suddhammā,[38] Vejayanta[39] and Massakasāra[40] in the beautiful Tāvatiṅsa heaven.[41] The Sudhammā palace is also the Assembly Hall of gods.[42] In the heaven there are beautiful gardens like chitralatā, Nandana, Phārusaka and Bhissaka for the enjoyment of Sakka.[43] His two constant companions are Mātali, his charioteer and Pañchaśikha, the musician.[44]

Agni occupied an important place in Brahmanism on account of the importance of Agnihotra. The Gṛihyasūtras and the Dharamasūtras prescribe a number of domestic sacrifices for which Agni is needed. Again Agni was given a high position due to its place in the Yajña which is referred to also by the Buddhist writers.[45] They no doubt ridicule Agni-worship, but from their statements the popularity of it among the Brāhmaṇas is revealed. When the Buddhist writers speak of the Brāhmaṇas retiring to the forest with the sacrificial fire,[46] describe Brāhmaṇas making offerings and worshipping fire at the Āśramas like

28. *Mahāvoginda-Suttanta of DN* ; Dia. 111. 259 f ; *MN*, I. 251, *KS*, I. 284; 293-307. *SN* IV. 101-2, *GS* I. 127 ; *AN* III. 370 etc.
29. *KS*, I. 285-302 ; Jā. VI. 289.
30. *Dhp.* 30 ; Jā. III. 145.
31. *Jā.* III. 129.
32. *Jā.* II. 312 ; III. 129, 132.
33. *Jā.* II. 128 and No. 186.
34. *Jā.* No. 540.
35. *Su.Ni.* II. 12.3-4.
36. *KS*, I. 295 ; *Su.Ni.* II. 12.4 ; *Vimāna.* IV. 10.10.
37. *Ja.* II. 101, 312 ; IV. 63.
38. *Ja.* I. 204. VI. 127, 278.
39. *KS*, I. 301-2 ; *Jā.* VI. 278.
40. *Jā.* VI. 289.
41. *KS*, I. 284-307, *Jā.* II. 312. (The thirty-three gods occur also in the Vedic mythology).
42. *DN*, II. 220 ; *KS*, I. 284, *Jā.* VI. 97, 126.
43. *AN*, III. 40 ; *Vimāna.* I. 13.6 ; 14.6 ; II. I.I. and 14 ; IV. 2.2., 10.10, *Jā.* VI. 132, 278.
44. *KS*, I. 284, *SN*, IV. 103 ; *Jā.* III. 222 ; IV. 63 ; VI. 126.
45. *Su. Ni.* III. 7.21.
46. *Jā* Nos. 144 and 162.

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that of Sundarika Bhāradvāja,[47] or when they speak of the Jaṭilas at Uruvelā performing Agnihotra,[48] they give true account of the place of Agni worship in Brahmanism. When they ridicule Agni worship as in the *Santhava Jātaka* they show Buddhist antagonism to it, which was probably due to its association with Yajña.

In the Vedas the Sun occupies an important position, but the Moon is insignificant. From the Buddhist literature it appears that the latter also had become a popular deity, because both are described as being worshipped by the people.[49]

The Vedic deity Parjanya (Pajjuna) did not lose his position during this period. He was worshipped as the custodian of rain water, whom people prayed for sending forth rains.[50]

Siri or Sirimā was a popular deity of our period.[51] She is described as the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha and the goddess of Fortune and Luck.[52] She manifested herself with raiment and ointment of golden hue and ornaments of golden brightness.[53] She is represented in Bharhut sculptures as seated on a full blown lotus,[54] which is the same as the representation of Lakshmī. Maṇimekhalā was regarded as the goddess of sea, presiding over ocean,[55] who protected victims of shipwreck.[56] This deity must have been worshipped by the seafarers for safe journey.

Some of the abstract deities were also worshipped.[57] Among them some were Vedic and some were new additions.—Śraddhā is a Vedic deity, but Āsā, and Hirī are non-Vedic.

There are four Lokapālas (Chātumahārājika Devas)[58] in the four quarters. Dhataraṭṭha Mahārāja, Virulhaka Mahārāja, Virupakkha Mahārāja and Vessavaṇa Mahārāja are the lords of the East, the South, the West and the North respectively.[59] There four Lokapālas appear in the Bharhut Jātaka scene.

47. *Su.Ni.* III. 4.
48. *SBE*, XIII. 129. 132.
49. *Therīgāthā.* 87 ; *Jā.* I. 474 ; VI. 1. 263.
50. *Jā.* V. 331.
51. She is referred to also in the Jain Canons, e.g., *Kalpasūtra—SBE* XXII. 282.
52. *Jā*, III. 262.
53. *Jā.* III. 261.
54. *B. and S.*, 186.
55. *Jā.* VI. 35.
56. *Jā.* IV. 17.
57. *Jā.* V. 392.
58. *MV*, 1. 6·30 ; *MN*, II. 194.
59. *DN*, II. 220-2.

There is mention of various minor gods. There are picturesque descriptions of various heavens and hells. Those who perform virtuous acts attain heaven; while those indulging in evil acts go to hell was the popular belief.

In addition to the above-mentioned aspects, Brahmanism embraced popular cults of Yakkha-Worship, Nāga-Worship, Tree-Worship and Bull-Worship, etc., but they are not included in this paper due to the lack of space. These cults occupied important place in the religious life of the masses and most of them were primarily non-Aryan in origin, but later on assimilated in Hinduism.

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BUDDHISM AS REFLECTED IN TAMIL WORKS

SHRIMATI P. K. PARVATHY

IN the *Puṟanānūṟu* there is just the faintest hint of the heretical sects; in *Manimēkalai* Buddhism is already senile; and in the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* it is in its last gasp.

In the *Puṟanānūṟu* the Brahmin is as supreme in South India as he was in North India before the appearance of Mahavira and the Buddha. Auvaiyār compares the three kings of the south to the three fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance, and exhorts them to shower gifts on Brahmins without stint, becuase the land belongs to the saintly (*Puṟam* 867, Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cōlās*, vol. I, p. 59). Viṇṇandāyan, who has performed the twenty-one sacrifices prescribed for the Brahmins, is praised as one who saw through the sophistry of the false doctrines, and shunning error, preferred truth (*Puṟam* 166, *ibid.*, 113). We seem to be still on the surface; doubts have not yet begun to stir the depths of the soul. Kōpperuñjōlan is far from sure whether there is a future birth or not. He is concerned only with doing good now. We may reap its fruits in this life or the next; and even *if there be no future birth* to do good is the highest asceticism (*Puṟam* 214, *ibid.*, p. 57).

In *Maṇimēkalai* we get glimpses indeed of the moral reformation which was one of the grandest achievements of Buddhism. The courtezan, who would sell her charms only for 1008 *Fanams* and ruined Kovalan, appears thoroughly reformed. Though she did not join him through death she did the next best, she became a hermit. Detesting the life of shame she had led, she would save her daughter from the life of a courtezan, and send her to Aravaṇa Aḍigaḷ to convert her in the fulness of time (*Maṇimēkalai in its Historical Setting* by Krishnasvamy Ayyangar, pp. 116-71). The ineffectiveness of acts, of blind conformity to rituals without *Śraddha*, or attention, seems also emphasized in the story of the magic seat of the Buddha (*ibid.*, 118-119, *Bk. iii*). But the whole atmosphere is one of magic and supernatural powers. Maṇimēkalai is taught various *Mantras* to be used as occasion arose (*ibid.*, p. 112, *Prologue*). Through these, she is able to change her shape at

will and become Kāyasandikai to avoid the infatuated prince, Udayakumara (*Ibid.*, p. 158); and even fly across in the air from the island of Maṇipallavam to Vañji (*Ibid.*, p. 186). In addition to these we have the miraculous seat of the Buddha by worshipping which one knows the past (*Ibid.*, 182), the begging bowl that never fails (*Ibid.*, p. 188), and the speaking statuette in the pillar (*Ibid.*, p. 162).

In *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam* the process of degradation is complete. To what extremes these shaven-headed monks (literally the hairs of whose heads have been pulled out) clothed in mats and with bunches of peacock feathers in their hands were prepared to go can be seen in their treatment of the blind Taṇḍiyaḍi, Tirunāvukkaraśu and Tirujñānsambandar. Taṇḍiyadi used to spend the day in removing the filth which had filled up the tank; with the aid of a rope tied to a post on the bank he guided himself up and down the tank, climbing up the bank with the basket of filth on his head and after emptying it, coming down to fill it again. One day, while he was down in the tank, they cut off the rope which had enabled him to come up. The persecution to which they subjected Tirunāvukkaraśu finally recoiled on their own heads. Originally he was one of their own leaders under the name of Dharmasena. Striken with an insufferable pain and unable to find any remedy he was at last cured by his sister through her implicit faith in Śiva. Dharmasena thereupon became a staunch worshipper of Śiva; and on account of the sweetness of his songs he was called Tirunāvukkaraśu or the Lord of the Sacred Tongue. The Buddhists naturally appealed to their patron, Mahendravarman Pallava. At their instance he put him in the lime kiln. When he was found alive after a week, he was given poison. As it did not act, a rutting elephant was made to charge him; but instead of rushing upon him and tearing him to pieces, it humbly circumambulated him and went away. He was then bound hand and foot to a heavy stone and cast into the ocean; but the stone served him as a boat and he came riding upon the waves. Stricken with remorse, the Pallava himself became his disciple, and destroyed the Buddhist settlement of Pataliputram with its *Caityas* and *Vihāras*. The Buddhists of Madura tried to set fire to the house where Tirujñānasambandar was staying, and vanquished in the various tests proposed by themselves, were in the end put to death by being impaled on stakes—a punishment whch they themselves had settled upon before hand. The rank and file of the Buddhists had become so demoralized that they attributed the success of Sambandar (as well as of Tirunāvukkaraśu) to the superior magic of the Saivas! But the more learned however, under their leaders, Buddhanandi and Sariputra, challenged Sambandar to defeta them in argument. Though Buddhanandi suddenly died, the grand contest was held at Bodhimangai. As between Maṇḍana Miśra and Śankara, the contest seems to have

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been long, the protagonists fighting with their best weapons. At last, Sariputra admitted defeat and became a worshipper of Śiva with all his followers. Thus Buddhism disappeared from South India. Seeing how the simple doctrines of the Apostle of *Ahimsa* came to be riddled through and through with superstition, magic, and even cruelty and unscrupulousness, no one need regret its disappearance.

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BEGINNINGS OF VAIṢṆAVISM IN ORISSA

Shri Sarat Chandra Behera

From the Aśokan inscription and Hāthigumpha record, it is known that in the 3rd and 1st century B.C. Buddhism and Jainism were prevalent in Orissa. But with the rise of the powerful Māṭharas in Kalinga, Brahmanism was established in Orissa. They are known to have issued at least 15 copperplate grants* to Brahmanas of various *Gotras*. Palæographically those inscriptions may be ascribed to the 5th and 6th Century A.D. In their palmy days, they ruled over the entire Kalinga, roughly extending from the river Mahanadi to Krishnaveni. This is known to us from the Ningondi plate of Prabhanjanavarman.[1] The Māṭharas were the contemporaries of the Guptas and Parivrājakas, who were great patrons of Vaisnavism in the Northern and Central India.[2]

During the rule of the Māṭharas, Mahendra region occupied a prominent place in Kalinga. It was also considered to be a great religious centre. This is known to us from the Dhavalpeta grant of Umavarman referring to 'Mahendra Bhoga Vishaya.'[3] Purānas speak of Mahendra as a 'kulagiri'. Vāmana Purana (Chapter XIII, Vr. 14) records :—

> "*Mahendromalaya Sahyaḥ Suktimanṛiksha parvataḥ Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Saptātra Kulaparvatāḥ.*"

This puranic evidence is corroborated by the Cuttack Museum charter of Mādhavarāja,[4] which points out :—

> "Srīmān Merurivodgatah *Kula giri Kshāto Mahendra* Kshitau."

The same Mahendragiri, during the early Gangas of Kalinga became the famous religious centre on the summit of which Lord Gokarneśwara was established.[5]

* *Vide Inscriptions of Orissa* (recent publication) by S. N. Rajaguru.

1. See *EI*, vol. XXX, pp. 112-118.
2. *Vide* L. 19 of Bihiari Stone Inscription, *CII*, vol. III, p. 52, and L. 1 of Khoh C. P. grant of Samkhova. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
3. *JAHRS*, vol. X, pp. 143-44.
4. Vide *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 ff.
5. See *JBRS*, vol. XXV (1949), pts. I. and II p. 2.

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Thus it is obvious that Mahendra was a great religious centre during the Śailodbhavas of Kongoda and Gangas of Kalinga, who were devout worshippers of Śiva.

Now the question arises whether Mahendra was famous during the presailodbhava period as a centre of Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism? No conclusive opinion can be offered unless sufficient archæological survey is made in this region.

But from a study of the copperplate inscriptions of the Māṭharas, who ruled round this religion, we learn that Prabhanjanavarman was a devotee at the feet of Lord Nārāyana (Bhagavat Swāmi Nārāyana Pādānudhyātaḥ).,[6] that Nanda Prabhanjana Varman[7] and Chandavarman[8] declared themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavata.' The use of these epithets is very significant in the early history of Vaiṣṇava faith in Orissa. Here for the first time Vaiṣṇavism was patronised by Kalingan monarchs.

The Māṭharas also declared themselves 'Parama Daivata.'[9] The expression "*Daivataṁ Devatānāmcha*" in *Viṣṇu Sahasra-nāma*[10] leads us to assume that the epithet is Vaiṣṇavite in its character. Again the epithet "*Paraṁa Daivata Parama Bhāgavata*" used by Bhūtivarman in his Baḍagangā rock inscription of (Gupta) Sam-vat 284[11] is another corroborating evidence to confirm our view cited above.

We further assume from the use of the name "Kṛṣṇachandra," a writer in the Baranga plates of Nanda Prabhanjana Varman (edited by me in the OHRJ, vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 106-14), that Kṛṣṇa had already become a popular god for worship in Kalinga in the 5th and 6th century A.D. Thus it seems that in all probability the theory of Bhāgavata "*Ete chāmsakala pumsaḥ Kṛṣṇustu Bhagavān svayaṃ*" had already gained ground in Orissa from this period.

Now the question arises how and under what circumstances Vaiṣṇavism appeared in Orissa? Māṭhara and Vāsistha[11a] are the two eponyms of the Dynasty of Kings, who patronised Vaiṣṇavism in Kalinga. The same eponyms were also used for Virapurisadotta in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.[12] From the Nasik cave inscription we know that a Satavahana king Pulamavi also used the epithet Vasisthiputra.[13] We

6. *Vide* L. 1. of Ningondi plate, *EI*, vol. XXX, pp. 117-18.
7. See L. 1 of Chicacole plate; *IA*, vol. XIII (1884) p. 49.
8. See Bobili plate in *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 88-86.
9. *EI*, vol. XXVI, p. 182.
10. *Viṣṇu Sahasra Nāma* (V. 10) Gīta press edition, pp. 16-17.
11. *EI*, vol. XXVII, p. 28.
11A. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 56.
12. *Vide EI*, vol. XX, pp. 16, 17.

hazard, on these grounds, that very probably in the beginning the Māṭhara rulers of Kalinga belonged to the same stock to which the Sātavāhanas belonged. And from one of the Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nanghat, we know that Sankarshaṇa and Vāsudeva had already become popular gods for worship in the Deccan.[14] Thus we are disposed to believe that Orissa, a land of Buddhistic and Jain importance from very early times, witnessed the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism, patronised by Māṭharas who in all probability migrated from Deccan to Kalinga with their customs and faith.

Just as the beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Kalinga synchronised with the rise of the Māṭhara rulers in the coastal tract, likewise, the appearance of the same in South Kosala or Western Orissa synchronised with the rise of Nalas and Sarabhapuriyans in the same period *i.e.*, about 5th and 6th century A.D. Podagada inscription[15] reveals that Skandavarman of Nala dynasty constructed the footprints of Viṣṇu (Pāda mula kṛitam Vishno rajña Śri Skandavarmaṇā). In the same inscription Skandavarman prays for the grace of Vāsudeva. This in combination with the fact that 'Priti Bhāgavata' (*i.e.* one who is devoted and attached to Viṣṇu) was the name of the executive Officer of this inscription, leads us to assume that during this period Bhāgavata Cult had already become popular in South Kośala. Sarabhapurians, whose capital Śarabhagaḍa has been identified by Mr. L. P. Pandeya[16] with the chief town of the same name in the Sundargarh district of Orissa, also patronised Vaiṣṇavism during this period. The silver coins of Prasannamātra of this family bear the figure of Garuda together with the discuss and conch symbols.[17] Mahārāja Sudevaraja, *alias* Māna Mātra, grandson of Prasannamātra, called himself 'Parama Bhāgavaṭa' in line 3 of his Arang Plates.[18] The Panduvansis, who ousted the Sarabhapurians, were also Vaiṣṇavite. Pānduvamsi Tinara, overlord of the whole of Kosala, is a 'Parama Viaṣṇava' in his Rajim plates.[19] That his nephew Harshadeva was also a Vaiṣṇava ruler is known to us from the verse 20 of the Sirpur Laxmana Temple inscription.[20]

But his son and successor, Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, calls himself 'Parama Māheśvara' in his Lodhia plates[21] and the seal of his Mallar plates[22] contain the symbols of Nandi and Triśula. This period is a turning-point in the religious history of Orissa. Vaiṣṇavism lost its

13. See *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
14. *Vide ASWI*, vol. V, pp. 60-61 ; *Luder's List*, No. 1112.
15. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 153.
16. *Proceedings of the fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461 ff.
17. *Vide New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 87, fn. 8.
18. See. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 20. The same epithet was used by him in Nagpur Museum plates ; *vide JASB*, vol. XXXV, p. 195 ; *EI*, vol. IX, p. 283.
19. *CII*, vol. III, p. 296.
20. *EI*, vol. XI, p. 192.
21. *JKHRS*, vol. II, p. 121.
22. See L. 4-5 of the Plate, *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 120.

royal patronage and its place was occupied by Śaivism. A century prior to this period, Śailodbhavas and Gangas had become *Parama Māheśvara* in Kongoda and Kalinga. From Dharmalingesvara C. P. grant[23] we learnt that Āchārya Patanga Śambhu initiated its donor in Śaiva philosophy. Even before the Gangas, Anantavarman in his Sringavarapukota grant[24] and become *Parama Māhesvara*. Epigraphic sources do not throw any light as to the earliest Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva Āchārya in Orissa. But undoubtedly they inform us regarding the later Āchāryas who appeared in Orissa and played great roles in turning the faith of her people. The earliest known Āchārya, who contributed towards the growth of Śaivism in Kalinga, was Patanga Śambhu or Patanga Śivāchārya of Dharmalingeswar plate, belonging to the famous Mattamayura clan.[25] Similarly, Pramathāchārya, who migrated from Dvaita Vana, was responsible for the introduction of Śaivism in South Kośala. This is known to us from the Lodhia plate of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, issued in the donor's of 57th regural year. Even the Buddhist Bhaumas of Wuta Country became Śaivas from the time of Śivakara[26] (Bhauma era 73-807 A.D.).

Thus it is evident that Vaiṣṇavism appeared in Orissa during the rule of Māṭharas, Nalas, Sarabhapuriyans and Pānduvaunsis. But as soon as the royal houses of Gangas, Śailodbhavas and Somavamsis arose in Kalinga, Kongoda and Kośala, Vaiṣṇavism lost the active royal patronage. Hence the period from fifth to the beginning of 7th century may be termed as first phase in the history of Vaiṣnava faith in Orissa.

Towards the beginning of the seventh century A.D., Vaiṣṇavism no doubt lost the royal patronage. But it did not lose its hold over the people. Thus we notice traces of Vaiṣṇava influence in the C.P. grants of Śaiva rulers of Orissa. Although Mādhavarāja of Kongoda was a 'Parama Māheśvara', he compares himself with 'Bhagavāna Mādhava' in his Khurda plates.[27] According to the Vaiṣṇavite Chāturvyuha cult of Varāha Purāna, Mādhava is one of the 4 important deities. Again, Śaśānka, who is considered to be a staunch Śaivite according to Ārya Manjuśrī Mulakalpa and Ekāmra Purāna also refers to Lord Viṣṇu in the following manner in his Midnapur grant.[28] :

Viṣṇoḥ Pottrāgra vikshepa kshanabhāvita sādhavasāṁ
Seshāśesha śiromadhye mādhyāsīna mahātanam /
Kāmārāti śirobhrashṭa Gangaugha dhvastakalmashāṁ
Śri Śaśānke Mahīmpāti chaturjaladhimekhalām // (L.1-3)

23. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 60.
24. *JAHRS*, vol. II, p. 275.
25. *Vide IHQ*, vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 1-16.
26. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-306.
27. *JASB*, vol. LXXIII, pp. 282-86.
28. *JRASB*, (Third Series), vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1-9.

In the same manner, although the Gangas of Kalinga were definitely Śaivite, Hastivarma of Ganga era 79 refers to Lord Nārāyana as follows in his Narasimpapalli plates[29] :—

"*Bhagavato Saptāranava Śāyine Sapta Sāmopagitāya-Saptaloka-kaikanāthāya-Ranabhito daya-bhidhānāya-Nārāyanāya.*"

From this it seems although the Gangas were Śaivite, they paid no less importance to Nārāyana.

Even towards the 10th century rules like 'Śatrubhanja[30] declared himself to be 'Parama Vaiṣṇava' and observed the vaiṣṇavite ceremony like 'Devotsava Dvādasi'.

Thus from this account we are disposed to believe that long before the arrival of Sri Ramanuja during Chodaganga's reign, roughly right from the fifth century A.D. Orissa experienced the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism. It is Sri Vaiṣṇavism and not vaiṣṇavism in its old form with which Ramanuja made the people of Orissa introduced.

At last we support this opinion of ours with the help of a verse in Antidigam plate of Yasabhanja[31] of the 12th century A.D. which runs as follows :—

Tat Putra Jayabhanja devonṛpati rajñasirh Sekhrah
Rupeyormadanopaṁa Kshititale dānescha karnopama

* * *

Durvarari Kurangamarana Harih Sri Sankare bhaktiman
Bhoktaovai Pitrumatra Pada Yoga Sri Vaisnavah Sampratam.

Thus, as already pointed out, Bhanjas were Vaiṣṇavas before Ramanuja, now they were Sri Vaiṣṇavas after Ramanuja's arrival.

Summary

Beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa is intimately linked with the rise of the Māṭharas in Kalinga in the 5th century A.D. Similarly it was patronised by Nalas, Sarabhapurians and Pānduvaṃsis of South Kośala, who called themselves 'Parama Bhāgavata' and 'Parama Vaiṣṇava'. Even 'Śaśānka, Lord of Eastern India in 7th Century, Mādhavarāja of Kangoda, and Hastivarman of Kalinga also referred to Viṣṇu, Mādhava and Nārāyana respectively. Even Śatrubhanja of Khinjali mandala was a Parama Vaiṣṇava in 10th Century A.D.

Thus it is certain that the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa goes back to the period of the Māṭharas of 5th Century A.D. *i.e.*, 600 years before the age of Ramanuja.

29. *EI*, vol. XXIII, pp. 62-67.
30. *OHRQ*, vol. IV, pp. 66-74.
31. *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 41.

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ŚIVA AND PARVATI AT DICE : IDENTIFICATION OF A PANEL AT ELEPHANTA

Dr. José Pereira

Introduction

The Elephanta panel opposite that of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa usually goes by the title " Pārvatī in an attitude of *māna*." This is a correct, but incomplete, identification. The full identification is with the *Dyūtakrīḍā*—Śiva and Pārvatī at dice.

Our purpose in this paper is not only to prove the validity of this identification, but to study the theme in its main aspects. The first three parts of our study will analyse the Elephanta panel with the already identified treatments of the theme to establish points of contact. These points will help us show, in the last part, that the Elephanta panel illustrates the *Dyūtakrīḍā* scene.

I. Thematic Analysis

The only full textual treatment of the theme we have been able to discover is found in *Skanda Purāṇa* 1 : 34. We sum it up thus :

Nārada called on Śiva at Kailāsa for a visit. Śiva had returned from destroying Andhaka and the Tripuras. He was in his court with his wife, the gods—Brahmā singing his praised and Viṣṇu doing duty as a servant[1] and other beings.

At the door he found two statues of *dvārapālas*,[2] which he thought, for a moment, were alive. He went in, worshipped the god and his wife and then fell to chatting with them, telling them he had come to play.[3] Pārvatī, surprised at hearing a muni talk about playing, asked him what he could play, and Nārada, mischievously, said ' dice '. Pārvatī, irritated, told him she didn't know Brāhmaṇas were interested in dice, to which Nārada retorted that his dice-playing would be through Śiva,[4]

1. *Skanda Purāṇa, loc. cit.* v. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, vv. 24-6.
3. *Krīdanārthamihāyātah, op. cit.*, v. 58a.
4. *Ibid.* v. 66 : *Dyūtam maheśena karomi te' gratah.*

In the first game Pārvatī was defeated.[5] Śiva betted his moon necklace and ear-ornaments that he would win the next game.[6] Pārvatī, none-the-less, defeated him.[7]

Śiva found it hard to accept defeat. His divine attributes, he said, proved he could not be defeated. This, Pārvatī said, was true of everyone but her.

Nārada, seeing his opportunity to foment a quarrel took Śiva's side and adopted his arguments, a mixture of metaphysics and scolding. He told Pārvatī that Śiva was formless, of beautiful form, and beyond form. She did not understand Śiva because she was a woman. Pārvatī hotly asked Nārada to keep quiet, and reminded him that it was through her grace that Śiva was born.[8]

Nārada was silenced, but Bhṛṅgi came forward to defend his favourite god. He repeated the argument of Śiva's undefeatability. Pārvatī, he said had no love for Śiva, and had tried to get him through the help of Kāma and *tapas*.[9] Pārvatī came back with the argument that she was, after all, identical with Śiva. Bhṛṅgi, however, dwelt on the importance of *bhakti* with some insistence.

The defence of Śiva's lack of sporting spirit infuriated her. She cursed Bhṛṅgi to become emaciated.[10] She pulled out everything from Śiva's person, besides what he had staked, including his underwear.[11] The scandalised court turned away their faces. Śiva himself was terribly ashamed, admitted he was defeated, and asked for his underwear back.[12] Pārvatī refused to give it to him, whereat Śiva's third eye blazed. The gods expected a repetition of the *Kāmādāha* episode. But nothing happened. Śiva only went away into the forest, leaving Pārvatī to herself.

II. Iconographical Analysis

We know of only nine panels of the period of rock temple art that deal with the Dyūtakrīḍa[13] theme, or rather eight, if we omit the Elephanta panel. These are the panels in the Daśavatara, Ellora; Mallikārjuna, Pattadakal; Kailāsa temple interior, Ellora; Ravan Ka

5. *Ibid.*, v. 70.
6. *Ibid.*, v. 76.
7. *Ibid.*, v. 82.
8. *Ibid.*, v. 94 : *matprasādacchivo jāta īśvaro yo hi paṭyate.*
9. *Ibid.*, v. 98 and 107-8.
10. *Ibid.*, v. 115.
11. *Ibid.*, v. 120 a.
12. *Ibid.*, vv. 125-6.
13. Fergusson and Burgess consider this theme to be "peculiar to Ellora". *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 488.

Kai, Ellora; Rameśvara, Ellora; Sita Ki Nahani, Ellora; Laṅkeśvara, Ellora; and the Kailāsa temple gallery in the back court, Ellora.[14] We now proceed to a formal description of the common and divergent iconographical characteristics of these treatments.

Structure

I. *Sectionalization of plane*: The plane has two sections, which result from the plane being divided vertically or horizontally.

II. *Pervasiness of main figures*: The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī tend to pervade the section they occupy both horizontally and vertically.

III. *Essential figures*: Those of Śiva and Pārvatī, which occupy the top or left section.

IV. *Iconographically essential figures*: The figures of Nandi and the *gaṇas* in the bottom or right section.[15]

Symbolic and Thematic Elements

I. Position of figures: Śiva is always to Pārvatī's left, except in the Laṅkeśvara panel, where he is to her right. This is because the sculptor intends him to be exactly opposite to Śiva of the opposite panel —the Kailāsatolana—who is there to Pārvatī's left.

II. Hands of Śiva:

(*a*) Number: always four.

(*b*) Objects: cobra and *śūla* (?)

(*c*) Poses:

(*i*) Throwing dice,[16] usually in →1L:[17] found in all examples except Sita Ki Nahani and Laṅkeśvara. Probable in the case of Elephanta, because the sacred thread is thrown over his right arms, so as to leave them free for an action such as that of dice throwing.[18]

14. The historical sequence followed in analysing the panels is adopted from Goetz "The Kailāsa of Ellora and the Chronology of Rāshṭrakuṭa Art" *Artibus Asiæ*, XV, 1-2, pp 84-107, especially 107.

15. Gopinatha Rao has noticed the recurrence of the Nandi and *gaṇa* motif in the panels of Ellora: "the sculptors of all these panels are curiously agreed in representing one of the gaṇas as biting the tail of the bull, another as catching hold of its horns, others tumbling about and playing with each other." *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II-1, p. 140.

16. Gopinatha Rao makes the following curious statement about this hand: "the other (hand) appears to be carrying a book. He (Śivā) is evidently giving out to Umā one of the *purāṇas*. *Ibid.*

17. The arrow represents the spectators, and the capital letter the figures point of view. Thus → 1L means first hand to figures Left, spectator's right.

18. Hirananda Sastri says: "the front right hand (→ 1L) seems to have rested on the right thigh." *A Guide to Elephanta* p. 47.

(*ii*) Holding Parvati's hand. Usually 2R← sometimes →1L on seat. Found in all examples except at Mallikārjuna and Laṅkeśvara. Doubtful, but probable in the case of Elephanta. At Rameśvara Śiva holds garment instead of hand.

(*iii*) Resting on seat or knee, or rarely, on hip. Normally 1R ← sometimes → 1L. The Daśāvatāra[19] Ravan Ka Kai Kailāsa gallery and Elephanta panels show the arm resting on the seat. The Mallikārjuna, Rameśvara and Laṅkeśvara panels shows it resting on the knee. The Laṅkeśvara panel shows it resting on the hip.

(*iv*) Pointing, as if saying " I win " or " One point ! " Found only in Mallikārjuna and the Kailāsa gallery panel. These are the relevant poses of Śiva.

III. Hands of Pārvatī

(*a*) Number : two.

(*b*) Objects : none.

(*c*) Poses :

(*i*) Resting either on thigh, knee, seat, pillow, or dwarf woman. Always in → 1L. In all examples.

(*ii*) Questioning as if saying " What is to be done now? " or " There 's no way out " or " What is it? " Found in all examples.

(*iii*) Held by Śiva's. This and the second pose are often found combined. Found in most places, possibly also Elephanta.

IV. Subordinate Figures and Objects

(*a*) Skanda,[20] as a shaven haired boy in all examples except Elephanta, where he is a small baby carried by a maid.

(*b*) Gaṇapati : found only in Ravan Ka Kai.

(*c*) Bhṛṅgi : found only in Elephanta.

(*d*) Brahma and Viṣṇu : only in Sita Ki Nahani.[21]

19. " The front left hand (1R ←) placed firmly on the seat is still traceable, with its bracelet, beside the left thigh." *Ibid.*

20. Fergusson and Burgess, however, identify the Skanda figure as that of Bhṛṅgi, in the Ravan Ka Kai and Rameśvara. This is not correct for the presence of Gaṇapati postulates the complementary presence of his brother. The emaciated cross-legged figure in Elephanta can be easily identified as Bhṛṅgi, and the baby with the nurse as Skanda.

21. *Brahmā yasya stutiparo viṣṇu presyavadāsthitaḥ Skanda purāna, loc. cit.*, v. 2.

(*e*) Maidservants : found in Ravan Ka Kai, Rameśvara, Sita Ki Nahani and Elephanta. They are rather lively, in contrast to the still, formal, and official dvārapālas.

(*f*) Dvārapālas : found at Ravan Ka Kai, Rameśvara, Sita Ki Nahani, Elephanta and Laṅkeśvara. Almost immobile at Elephanta.

(*g*) Nandi and the *gaṇas* : always found together, in all examples.[22]

(*h*) Dice board : not necessary, because not always found. Clearly discernible only in four out of nine (or eight) cases.

Panel Juxtaposition

If we examine the architectural position of the sculptures in the Rock Temples of the Deccan and Konkan, we find three frequently occurring types of placement :

(1) When two panels, or groups of panels, balance each other in pattern, either by—

(*a*) facing each other, which is possible only with two panels or

(*b*) facing equally in the same direction, one side symmetrically balancing the other side ; this is possible in case of two, or groups of two, panels.

(2) When panels are placed serially alongside each other.

(3) When, usually in case of two panels, one occupies a place of decorative importance in one structural part of the temple and another in another part. One in front of the *śikhara*, for example, and another in front of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

We can call these types of juxtaposition, respectively :

(1) Opposition.

(2) Alignment.

(3) Parallelization.

We may now define juxtaposition broadly, in the abstract : The use of architectural design to express a parallel or contrast in doctrinal ideas. Briefly, architectural pattern as an expression of doctrinal pattern.[23]

22. Hiranada Sastri thinks the *gaṇas* to be monkeys. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.
23. For an analysis of the notion of relation see Suarez *Disputationes Metaphysicæ*, p. 47.

The main juxtapositional situations found in our panels are these:

(1) *Placement*

(*a*) Opposition: Dyūtakrīḍā—Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8 examples).
Dyūtakrīḍā—Kalyāṇasundara (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā—Somāskanda (1 out of 8).

(*b*) Alignment: Dyūtakrīḍā-Kalyāṇasundara-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā-Naṭarāja-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā-Śiva Pārvatī and Nandi-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).

(2) *Frequency*

(*a*) Opposition: Dyūtakrīḍā-Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8).

(*b*) Alignment: Dyūtakrīḍā-(Kalyāṇasundara, Naṭarāja or Śiva, Pārvatī and Nandi)-Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8).

(*c*) Total: Dyūtakrīḍā-Kailāsatolana (6 out of 8).

(3) *Significance*

The broadest significance common to all is that they are all scenes in a deity's domestic life. Some are expressive of happy love (*saṁbhoga śṛṅgāra*; others of diversion (*krīḍā*); and one of bruised love (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*), at Elephanta; and still another of the couples love for their child (*vātsalya*), in the interior of the Kailāsa, Ellora.

III. Emotional Analysis

We can see from the above that the theme is capable of two emotional situations love and diversion. This love, or *prema*, is specified by the *ālambanas*. If the *ālambanas* are a young man and woman, the love is *rati*. If children then the love is *vātsalya*. *Rati* is of two kinds, mutual pleasure and displeasure. The first kind is called *saṁbhoga śṛṅgāra*, defined as: "yatra kāminyamiṣṭani darsānadīni samyak bhujyante saḥ sambhogah."[24] Or, briefly: "saṁyuktayostu saṁbhogaḥ."[25] Mammaṭa describes its characteristics as "parasparāvalokanāliṅganādarapānaparicumbanādi"[26]—looking at each other, mutual embraces, sucking the lower lip, kissing, etc.

24. Narendraprabhasuri, *Alaṅkāramahodadhi*, 8 : 15. *GOS*, vol. XCV. p. 60.
25. Vidyānātha, *Pratāparūdrayaśobhūsaṇa*, *BSPS*, vol. LXV, p. 277.
26. *Kāvyaprakāśa* 4, text between vv 29 and 30.

Hemacandra defines *vipralambha* thus : " śaṅkhādivyabhicāri santāpādyānubhāvo bhilāṣamānapravāsarūpo vipralambhan."[27] Viśvanātha defines it in these words : "yatra tu ratiḥ prakṛṣṭā nābhīṣṭamupatti vipralambho' sau "[28] Both *saṁbhoga* and *vipralambha* are basically mental states. *Māna* is one kind of *vipralambha.*[29]

Vātsalya is distinguished from *rati* in that it is concerned with the fondling and cherishing of children : " vatsalatā prema, tatsahitaḥ sneho ratiḥ. sā ca lālanapālanādicchā."[30] Viśvanātha, who admits this rasa into his list, describes it thus :

> sthāyī vatsalatāsnehaḥ putrādyālambanam matam //
> uddīpanāni taccesṭāvidyāśauryodayādayaḥ /
> āliṅganāṅgasaṁsparśaśiraścumbanamīkṣaṇam //
> puḷakānanḍabāṣpādi anubhāvaḥ prakīrtitaḥ /
> saṁcāriṇe'niṣṭaśankāharṣagarvādayo mataḥ //[31]

Diversion, the other emotional state, does not consist in any direct and explicit love for any living, including human, personality. Of course, a couple that plays together may be very much in love with each other, and love their children extremely. Playing a game, however, is not an expression of that love. The interest is in some lifeless material object, that when handled skilfully produces the feelings of triumph in one, and of defeat in another. It evokes an interest that is essentially impersonal, not only in the partcipants but also in the spectators. Dice is a lifeless material object. Skilful manipulation makes one of the participants win and the other lose. The impersonal emotion of interest, while the game is in progress, is seen in most of our panels, in the keen interest (impersonal) that the spectators take in the happenings. There is thus no explicit *saṁbhoga śṛṅgāra* or *vātsalya* in such cases, for both these emotions are of a personal nature. If one of the party is defeated, however, and if that party happens to be unsportsmanlike (as is the case) the defeat is taken as an affront, and results in real *vipralambha.* The only possible rasa is thus this kind of *śṛṅgāra.* Interest in a game is not recognised as a rasa in the *alaṅkāraśāstra.* Most depictions of the Dyūtakrīḍā theme have thus no rasa at all.

27. *Kāvyānuśāsana* 2. *NSP* p. 71.
28. *Sāhityadarpana* 3 : 187a *NSP* p. 162.
29. Vidyānātha, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
30. Commentary of Rāmacanaṇa on *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3 : 251.
31. *Sāhityadarpana, loc. cit.*

IV. The Identification

The following reasons can be put against the identification of the Elephanta panel with the Dyūtakrīḍā :

(1) The absence of the dice board.

(2) The absence of the action of dice playing, or at least, the clear indication of it, because the arms of Śiva are broken.

(3) A different emotional situation as compared with those in panels accepted as Dyūtakrīḍā representations. None of these show the couple angry, or Pārvatī in an attitude of *māna*.

These arguments are easily answered. The dice-board is not necessary. It does not appear in all Dyūta representations, and is plastically insignificant. The action of dice playing, which is what primarily interests the artist, is basically identical in panels which have, or do not have a dice-board. The artist can therefore, at discretion, omit this detail.

Enough is left in the Elephanta panel to tell us that a game action, very likely that of dice-playing was represented. First, there is the sacred thread thrown over Śiva's shoulder, an unusual thing in Rock Temple sculpture. This would leave the arm free for dice-throwing. Second, there is the intense interest of Bhṛṅgi, to all appearances an impersonal one, in the concentrated pose of his squatting figure. Third the figure of the *ṛṣi* throwing flowers, which shows that a triumph has occurred. All this allows us to conclude that the panel depicts a kind of arm-swinging action in the main figure that evokes a strong impersonal interest in the lookers-on, a sense of triumph in this figure, and anger in the other one. In other words, a situation very possibly representative of a game.

The emotional difference offers no difficulty. The *vipralambha* situation not only represents the *Skanda Purāṇa* account more closely, but is the only possible one the theme can accommodate. Other elements in common with this account are the figures of the *ṛṣi* (Nārada ?) and Bhṛṅgi.

The points in favour of the identification are :

(1) The Elephanta panel, is, like the others, an Umāmāheśvara panel. This is a generic similarity. The following show that there is no specific difference :

(2) The Elephanta panel has *a basic identity in structure* with the other panels. All these panels are disectional; the top or left section always contains Śiva and Pārvatī; the lower or right Nandi and the *gaṇas*.

(3) *The juxtaposition of the Elephanta panel is the same as that of the other (Dyūta) panels.* The juxtaposed panel is that of the Kailāsatolana. No panel we know that is similar in structure and that is placed opposite the Kailāsatolana is anything besides a Dyūta panel. There is no panel aligned or opposed to the Kailāsatolana that depicts a game situation which is any other than a Dyūta one. All this leads us to conclude that the Elephanta panel is as much a representation of the Dyūtakrīḍā as the others.

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KHANDOBA, A POPULAR DEITY OF THE SOUTH[1]

SHRI G. H. KHARE

KHANDOBĀ is a very popular deity which is at present worshipped right from Brahmans to untouchables in Mahārāshṭra and Karnāṭaka. Following are the most important places sanctified by the shrines of this deity where very large annual and periodical fairs are held in honour of the deity. (1) Jejuri with Karhe Pathar and (2) Nimgaon (Poona), (3) Pali (North Satara), (4) Satarem (Aurangabad), (5) Naldurg with Andur (Usmanabad), (6) Mailarpur (Bidar), (7) Shegud (Ahmadnagar), (8) Mangasuli (Belgaum), (9) Mailarlinga (Dhārwar), (10) Mailara or Devaragudda (Dharwar), (11) Mailar (Bellari). But I have been able to notice at least twenty more places from Mahārāshṭra, Karnāṭaka, and Āndhra where, either were or still, are shrines of this deity, or which are named after this deity.[2] But in the absense of more material about them I could not collect as much information as I did about the former 11 places.

The deity goes by the following names with their varients in my opinion: (1) Khaṇḍerāya, (2) Mallāri-Mailāra, (3) Mārtaṇḍa, (4) Mallāri-Mārtaṇḍa, (5) Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, (6) Mhāḷasākanta, (7) Ravaḷadeva, (8) Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva, (9) Saptakotiśvara, (10) Mallūkhān and (11) Ajmatkhān. Out of these Khaṇḍerāya is derived from Sanskrit khaḍga and the popular Dravidian name Mailāra can be regularly derived from Mallāri. Mārtaṇḍa signifies the Sun. Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava points out that the divinity is a combination of the gods Sun and Bhairava, a form of Śiva. Mhāḷasākānta points out that Mhāḷasā, a corruption of the Sanskrit word Madālasā and Māḷavva a further Dravidian corruption of the same word, were the names of his wife. Kannaḍa and Telugu records of the pre-Muslim period show

1. This deity has been fully dealt with in my Marathi book '*The four deities of Mahārāshṭra*'.

2. 1. Kauravadurga or Bhuvanadurga (Mysore), 2. Pālī (Bid), 3. Sādegaon (Aurangabad), 4. Sonaī (Ahmadnagar), 5. Mallapattana (to the North-West of Ujjain), 6. Kallukoṭe (Mysore), 7. Anegundi (Bellari), 8. Penugoṇḍa (Ahantapur), 9. Vemavaram (Godawari), 10. Koṇḍavīḍu (Guntur), 11. Pāṭur (Cuddapa), 12. Mailarapaṭṭaṇa (Mysore), 13. Salgar (South Satara), 14. Kubṭur (Mysore), 15. Mylapore (Madras), 16. Maktal and 17. Amrābād (Mahbubnagar) and 18. Aynavolu (Warangal) for Khaṇḍobā or Mailāra, and 1 Valseṅga (Aurangabad), 2 Newāse (Ahmadnagar), 3 Paiṭhan (Aurangabad), 4 Nāndurā (Bid), 5 Devīhosūr (Dharwar) and 6 Aynavolu (Warangal) for his wife Māḍachī.

that his name underwent a further change and assumed the forms Māḍachī and Māḷachī-ja probably derived from Sanskrit Madālasī or Prakrit Maālasī[3] The name Ravaḷadeva is current more in the Konkan than in the upcountry.[4] Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva was a term first applied to the devotees of Śiva, but subsequently it came to be applied to this god.[5] Saptakoṭīsvara is a literal translation of Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva and is at present the name of a well-known Śaiva divinity in the Portuguese territory of Goa. Mallūkhān is a Muslim name of Śiva that appears first in an early 18th century lythic record found near Biḍ in Marāṭhawāḍa ;[6] but since then it came to be applied to Māllāri in general and to Mailāra near Bidar in particular. Ajmatkhān is noted as a name of the god of Jejuri, *i.e.* Mallāri in the 2nd edition of Malesworth's Marathi-English dictionary published in 1857 A.D.. It is not known whence the editor got this information; but it is not to be traced in the first edition of the same work published in 1831 A.D. Almost all these names except the two Persian ones are or were used by Hindus without descrimination of caste as personal names and the word Mairāḷa a further Marathi corruption of the Dravidian corruption Mailāra which itself is a corruption of Sanskrit Mallāri was both used as a personal name and a surname among Mahārāshṭra Brahmans like Pāṇḍurangi in Karnaṭaka.

The caste of this god is not certain. He probably belonged to the oilman caste; but his wife is said to have been a daughter of a Vāṇī (Merchant). This god is attributed a mistress named Bāṇāī of the Dhangar or Kurvbar (Shepherd) caste and his minister who belonged to this same caste goes by the name Hegaḍi derived from the Kannaḍa word Perkaḍe meaning a minister. Here a common noun has, in course of time become a proper noun. This god, and his family members also, is represented by three types of icons *viz.* (1) Swayambhū *i.e.* a formless stone, (2) a linga and (3) a four-handed image holding a sword, a trident, a *damaru*, and a drinking bowl. He has a bull and a horse as his vehicles and is generally accompanied by a dog. It thus appears that Bhairava is represented here in a mild form and the vehicle horse points out that this god is combined with the Sun god. In Karnāṭaka his mistress is generally enshrined outside the village where the god is enshrined; but in Mahārāshṭra her icons are met with in the shrine of the god himself; but at a distance. Both the facts show that she has not got the dignity of a legal wife. In some of her icons she is

3. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for the year* 1933 *A.D.*, p. 95; *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana districts of the Andhra Pradesh*, part III, p. 119.
4. *Marathi Book*, p. 149.
5. *SII*, vol. IX, part 1, No. 327.
6. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1921-22, p. 20.

shown holding a cock and a lamb in her armpit and milk-pots on her head which again point out that she belongs to the Dhangar or Kurubar caste.

The words denoting the several articles used in sectarian rites of this god are invariably of non-Sanskrit origin and even *gada* a Persian word implying begging has crept into them. Unlike god Viṭṭhala, Khaṇḍobā is propitiated for the favour of progeny and the Kannaḍa proverbial sayings about the god corroborate the statement. The Marathi sayings are of a different nature; but even among the Marathas he is many times worshipped for the same reason. When such a devotee get more than one children, the eldest whether a male or a female was in some cases offered to the god and such children used to become professional devotees of the god, called Vāghyās and Muraḷis. Their marriage ties and character were always loose. This god is offered both vegetarian and non-vegetarian eatables as *naivedya* and some hereditary servants of a few temples of this god from Karnāṭaka do even now commit some horrible acts before the god such as thrusting wooden and iron pegs into the forelegs or iron nails fixed with burning wicks into the wrists and waving those lights before the god. Thus the words and rites connected with this god are invariably non-Āryan in origin.

At present a majority of the places sanctified by the shrines of this god were or are situated either in Karnāṭaka or in Āndhra, while only a few are in Mahārāshṭra and probably none in the North. But from Śaṅkaravijaya, a versified life of the first Śaṅkarāchārya composed by Ānandagiri in the 18th or the 14th century, it is learnt that this Śaṅkarāchārya by argument prevailed upon the followers of Mallāri that resided in Mallapattana a town lying to the North-West of Ujjain to follow the Vedic path after deserting the sect of the god,[7] and the very place-name Maḷḷālapattana in Mahākośala[8] tends to prove that there were some followers of this god's sect in North India in early medieval period. It is very difficult to say which of all these places is the oldest one. But we must search for it somewhere either in Karnāṭaka or in Āndhra for it is from here that records of the pre-Muslim period and referring to this god have come to light. It is as well very difficult to say when the idea of a separate entity of this god assumed a concrete form. But records show that we shall not be far from truth if we relegate it to the 8th, 9th centuries of the śaka-era; for his wife is actually referred to in two 10th century records.

7. Jibananda Bidyasagar edition, Calcutta, p. 121.
8. *EI*, vol. I, pp. 40, 55; vol. XXIII, p. 114 n.

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TEN MAHISHĀSURAMARDANĪ ICONS FROM ĀLAMPUR

Shri M. Radhakrishna Sharma

The goddess Durgā is worshipped in many forms. Mahishāsuramardanī is one of them. This name is given to the Dēvī in consequence of her having destroyed the Mahishāsura. The subject-matter of this paper is ten Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampūr in Āndhrapradēśh. The first nine images are today in the local museum at Ālampūr. The last one is built into the wall of a niche, in the western wall of the Bāla Brahmā temple compound. In section 'A' of this paper, a detailed description of the ten images has been given. In section 'B', firstly, these images are classified on the basis of the differences between each of them. Secondly, these images are compared with the Śilpā texts. Thirdly, they are compared with the published plates of Mahishāsuramardanī from other places. Fourthly, with the help of the above material and the architectural and inscriptional evidence at Ālampūr, the age of these group of icons is approximately fixed.

Section 'A'

The following is the description of the ten Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampūr. The first nine are today in the local museum.

I

Mahishāsurā in this icon is facing left. He is in complete Mahishā form. He is standing with the head twisted back completely. Durgā is standing with her left leg kept steady on the ground and the foot turned to the left. Her right leg is lifted up, bent at knee and the foot kept on the back of Mahishā. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are bent at elbow and lifted up. The weapons in the first two hands are broken. In the third is a sword held horizontally above her head. The first upper left hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and holding a bow. The second is bent at elbow and lifted up driving a śūla into the head of Mahishāsura. The third is bent at elbow and lifted up holding a shield. The lower right hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and the wrist resting on the right knee, while the palm is lifted up holding an arrow ? The lower left hand kept down angularly

pressing down the face of Mahishā with the palm. Durgā wears undergarment upto thighs. Other ornaments she wears are hārās, kuṇḍalās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a short kirīṭa-makuṭa. The lion, Durgā's vehicle, is sculptured upto its body. It is pouncing on Mahishā with its left leg on the back of the aśurā and its teeth piercing the back of the demon. This icon is made in sandstone.

II

Mahishāsurā, who is facing right in this icon, is in Mahishā form upto the neck. The animal is kneeling and the demon is sculptured as coming out of its neck. The demon's right leg is sculptured upto the knee, the portion below yet within the neck of the animal. This leg is kept straight. His left leg is bent at knee and kept angularly, the foot resting on the neck of Mahishā. The body of the aśurā above the waist is angularly bent towards the left. His left hand is folded up with the elbow resting on the left knee and the palm supporting his head. His right hand is kept down angularly, bent at elbow and holding a shield. The shield is sculptured between the hands. The aśurā wears kuṇḍalās and a head-dress resembling the Maharāṣtra style of turban. Durgā is standing with her right leg kept steady on the ground and her left leg is lifted up, bent at knee with the foot placed on the back of the animal. She has 8 hands. The first upper right hand is kept down angularly holding a sword upwards. The second is kept slightly bent at elbow and holding up the palm open. The third is bent at elbow taking out an arrow from the quiver on her right back. There is another quiver on her left back. Her first upper left hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched holding a shield to its back and a Ghanṭa to the front. The second upper left is bent at elbow holding up an arrow. The third is bent at elbow holding up a bow. The lower right hand is folded up holding a triśūla and driving it into the back of the demon in human form. Her lower left hand is kept down with the palm holding down the head of the giant. Durgā wears an undergarment to her calves. She wears yagnōpavīta, hārās, kuṇḍalās, kankaṇās for hands, armlets and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, which is sitting on her right is facing the right. This icon is made in sandstone.

III

Mahishāsurā, who faces right in this icon, is sculptured in Mahishā form upto the neck. While the animal is kneeling, the demon is coming out of its neck. The demon's right leg is visible upto the knee, the portion below still within the animal. This leg is kept angularly. The left leg is folded with the foot resting on the neck of the animal. The body of the aśurā above the waist is slightly bent to the left. His hands are bent at elbow, together holding down a sword. He wears

an undergarment to the thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārā, kuṇḍalās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. Durgā is standing with her right leg kept steady on the ground and her left leg lifted up, bent at knee and the toes placed on the back of the animal. She has eight hands. The first upper right hand is kept down angularly holding an arrow up. The second is kept slightly bent at elbow holding a chakrā in the prayōgā fashion. The third is slightly folded up holding a shield. There is a quiver either side on the back of the deity. The first upper left hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched and holding a shield. The second is bent at elbow holding up a bow. The third is bent at elbow holding up a śankha. Her lower right hand is folded up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the back of the demon in human form. Her lower left hand is kept down with the plam pressing down the kirīṭa of the demon. She wears an undergarment to the knees, manjīrā, yagnōpavīta, udarabandhā, kuchabandhā, hārā, kuṇḍalās, armlets, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a kirīṭa makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is sitting to her right facing the same direction. This icon is made in sandstone.

IV

Mahishāsurā, who is facing left in the icon, is in human form upto the neck. He is sitting on his right knee. His left leg is kept forward, bent at knee and with the portion below vertically kept on the ground. The portion of the icon showing the position of his right leg is broken. His body is in atibhaṅga. The right hand is bent at elbow holding down a gada while the left hand is stretched holding a shield. The aśurā has the head of a mahishā. He wears udarabandhā, yognōpavīta, armlets, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and hārās. Durgā is standing with her right leg lifted up bent at knee and pressing down the demon's head with the foot. Her left leg is slightly bent at knee with the foot kept on the ground and turned to the left. She has 8 hands. The first upper right hand is stretched slightly bent at elbow, holding a sword upwards. The weapon in the next hand is broken. This hand is also stretched bent slightly at elbow. The third is bent at elbow and is taking out an arrow from the quiver on her right back. There is another quiver on her left back. The first upper left hand is slightly bent at elbow with the portion below stretched and holding a bow. The second is bent at elbow holding up a shield. The third is also folded up slightly, but the weapon in this hand is broken. Her lower right hand is bent at elbow and raised up while the lower left is kept down holding the left hand of the aśurā. She wears an undergarment to the thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands, armlets, kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is to her right facing the same direction with its right leg placed on the club in the hand of the demon. This icon is made in black stone.

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V

Mahishāsurā, who is facing the left in this icon, is in the human form upto the neck. He is on his right knee and hands, the latter being crossed. The left leg is bent at knee and stretched back. The head which is of a Mahishā has the face turned up. He wears armlets and hārās. Durgā is standing with her left leg lifted up, bent at knee and the toes resting on the back of the aśurā. Her right leg is slightly bent at knee with the foot kept on the ground and turned to the right. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are stretched slightly, bent at their elbows, and the weapons in them are broken. The upper left hands are bent at their elbows and slightly raised up. The first holds a bow, the second a shield, and the weapon in the third is not clear. Her lower right hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a triśūlā driving it into the back of the demon. Her lower left is stretched binding the demon with a pāśa. She wears an undergarment upto thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārās, kuṇḍalās, kankaṇās for the hands, armlets and a kirīṭamakuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is seated facing the right, mauling the demon's left leg.

VI

This is a damaged icon of Mahishāsuramardanī Durgā. Her four left hands are visible. The upper left hands are bent at elbow and slightly raised. Shield, bow? and śaṅkha are the weapons in these three hands respectively. She wears girdles round the waist, kuchabandhā, hārās and kirīṭamakuṭa. There is a quiver on her left back. The other details are damaged. This icon is made in black stone.

VII

In this icon only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured. Durgā is standing on it, Samapāda and Samabhaṅga. She has four hands. Her upper right hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a chakrā in the prayōga fashion. Her upper left hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a śaṅkha. The lower right hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched towards the body holding a triśūlā vertically, while the lower left is slightly bent at elbow with the palm on the waist. She wears girdles round the waist, udarabandha, kaṅkaṇās for the hands, armlets, hārās and a kirīṭamakuṭa. The Lion is absent in the icon. This icon is made in sandstone.

VIII

Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing right in the icon. The animal is kneeling. Durgā is standing with her left leg kept steady on the ground and the right leg lifted up, bent at knee with the foot kept on the head of the Mahishā. She has 4 hands. Her upper right

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hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the body of the Mahishā. Her upper left hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a Śaṅkhā. The lower right hand is slightly bent at elbow holding up chakra in the prayoga fashion while her lower left hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and pulling up the animal by its tail. She wears kaṅkaṇās for the hands hārās, kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle is, absent in the icon. This icon is made in sandstone.

IX

In this icon Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing the left. The animal is sitting with the head lifted up. Durgā is standing with her right leg steady on the ground and the left lifted up, bent at knee with the head raised and the toes resting on the back of the animal. She has 4 hands. Her upper right hand is bent at elbow and raised, holding a chakra while her upper left is folded up holding a Śaṅkha. The lower right folded up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the back of the animal while her lower left hand is hanging down thrusting something into the mouth of the Mahishā. The Lion, her vehicle, is seated to her right. This icon is made in sandstone.

X

This icon is built into the wall of a niche in the western wall of the Bāla Brahmā Temple compound, at Ālampur.

Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing the right in this icon. Durgā is standing with the left leg steady on the ground and the right leg lifted up bent at knee and the foot kept on the head of the animal. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are bent at their elbows and raised up. The first upper right hand holds a triśūlā vertically, the second a chakrā in the prayōga fashion and the third is taking out an arrow from the quiver. Her upper left hands are bent at their elbows and are raised up holding respectively a bow, a śaṅkha and a shield. The lower right hand is bent at elbow with the wrist resting on the right thigh and holding up a sword while her lower left is kept down pulling up the animal with its tail. Durgā wears an undergarment upto the thighs, hārā, kaṅkaṇās for the hands kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is absent in the icon.

Section 'B'

A careful examination of the description of the ten images given in section 'A' would show that no two of these icons are identical. By

comparing these images with one other we get the following main varieties :

1. Three icons belong to the four-handed Durgā variety and seven to the eight-handed Durgā variety.

2. In six, Durgā is in *tribhaṅga*. In two she is in *atibhaṅga* and in one she is in *Samabhaṅga* and *samapāda*.

3. While *triśūla*, *khaḍga*, *kheṭa*, bow, arrow, *śaṅkha* and *chakrā* are generally the weapons in the hands of the Dēvī, only in one icon she holds a *Ghaṇṭā*.

4. In four icons Mahishāsura is in complete Mahishā form. In two icons Mahisha is sculptured upto its neck with a human being issuing form the neck. In two icons, Mahishāsura is in human form upto the neck with a Mahishā head on it. In one icon, only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured.

5. In six, the Lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is present while in three it is absent.

The varieties could be multiplied if further details of the Dēvī and Mahishāsurā are taken into consideration.

The Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampur do not completely tally with the Śilpa texts. The *Śilparatna* and the *Vishṇudharmōttara* as quoted in the Vāchaśpatyā, prescribe for Mahishāsuramardanī Durgā ten and twenty hands respectively, while Durgā at Ālampur has four or eight hands. In two Ālampur icons, while Mahishā is sculptured upto its neck with a human being issuing from the neck as prescribed by *Śilparatnā* or *Vishṇudharmóttara*, other details such as the *asurā* being bound down by the *nāga-pāsa* only in one, while in other details both differ from the texts. Similarly this group of icons from Ālampur do not totally agree with the description given of *Kātyāyani* in the *Śilpa* texts.

In " Hindu Iconography " vol. I, part 2, T.A. Gopinatha Rao has given plates of six examples of Mahishāsuramardanī. Three of them are from Mahābalipuram, one from Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram, one from Ellōra and the other is from the Madras museum.

Image VII from Ālampur is comparable to Durgā from Mahābalipuram (*Ibid*, plate XCIX) in following respects.

(1) In both the images only the head of Mahishā is sculptured.

(2) Dēvi stands on it in *samapāda* and *samabhaṅga*. But while the Ālampur icon has four hands, the latter has six hands. There is also difference in the position of the weapons. In Durgā panel in the rock-cut temple of Varākasvāmin in Mahābalipuram also (*Ibid.*, plate C.I.) only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured. The other details here differ from the Ālampur icon.

The third example from Mahābalipuram (*Ibid.*, plate CV) and IV and V images from Ālampur have only one common feature *viz.*, Mahishāsurā has a *Mahishā* head and a human body. In the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram example (*Ibid.*, plate CIII) also Mahishāsurā figures in the same form. This is also eight-handed as the Ālampur icons. The weapons used by Durgā and their positions are as in image V from Ālampur. In both the images the lion mauls the asurā, but they differ in other details.

In Mahishāsuramardanī in the Madras Museum (*Ibid.*, Fig. 1, plate CII), though the asurā comes out of Mahishā, unlike the Ālampur image he is issuing out of the body of the animal; and the head of the Mahishā is also pictured. The example from Ellōra (*Ibid.*, plate CIV) belongs altogether to a different variety.

In his *Early Eastern Chālukyan Sculpture*, Sri C. Sivaramamurti has given reproductions of Mahishāsuramardanī images from Peddamuḍiyam, Cuddapah district (Plate I, Fig. (*a*)); from Rājarāja temple, Biccovolu, East Gōdāvarī district, (Plate XXII, Fig. (*e*); from Gōlingēśvara temple, Biccavōla, East Gōdāvari district, (Plate XXIV (*b*)) and from Dulmi in Bengal, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plate XXXII, Fig. (d)).

The author assigns the plaque from Peddamuḍiyam to the period of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and that of the early rule of the Pallavas which extended to some of the Āndhra districts during the time of Siṁhavishṇu (*Ibid.*, p. 12) Durgā is represented here with four hands.

Images II and III from Ālampur compare with the other images only to the extent that in all these images the aśurā is sculptured as issuing from the animal. In other details they differ.

In *Chālukyan Architecture* by Rea, drawings of two Mahishāsuramardanī icons are given. The first of these is from Kallāśvara temple Mahāmaṇḍapa, Bagali. The second is from Katteśvara temple, Hirahadagalli. (Plates VII, Fig. 4. XL. Fig. I.)

Both are of the eight handed Durgā variety. In the second upper left hand of these is a *Ghaṇṭa*. The differences between these icons and the Ālampūr icons are the following :—

1. In both the icons a *mahisha* and two demons are sculptured. But in the Ālampur icons either the Mahishā or its head only or a combined form of the Mahishā and the deomon are found.

2. The *śūla* in the lower right hand of Durgā from Bagali is quite different from the *triśūlā* we find in the Ālampur icons.

3. Durgā in the Ālampur icons is less ornamented than in these two icons.

In *Chālukyan Architecture* by Cousens, a photograph of the image of Mahishāsuramardanī from the temple of Siddēśvara, Haveri is given. (Plate LXXXI. Fig. 3.)

This is an eight-handed Durgā. In the third upper left hand is a *Ghaṇṭā*. The main differences between this icon and the Ālampur icons are :

1. Unlike in the Ālampur icons both the complete *Mahishā* form of Mahishāsura and the combined form of *Mahishā* head and the aśurā body make their appearance in this icon.

(2) The Haveri image is more ornamented than the Ālampur ones.

No two images of Mahishāsuramardanī from Ālampur are identical. They do not completely tally with the *Śilpa* texts. While they are comparable to Pallava, Chāḷukyan and Chōḷa examples in certain aspects, the Ālampur icons differ from them in other respects. Thus, the ten Mahishāsuramardanī images from Ālampur become unique and rare ones.

The existence of various styles side by side at Ālampur, which is clear from these images, shows that this place had been a meeting place of different styles of art. The variety in Sūrya images and in the architecture of temples that we find here, is a further proof for the above conclusion.

The earliest inscriptional evidence at Ālampur dates back to the seventh century. Vijayādityā's inscription on the fort wall and Vinayādityā's inscription of the Dvārapāla of the Svarga Brahmā temple are the earliest.

After the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chāḷukyās, there are here inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭās, the western or Kalyānī Chaḷukyās the Kākatīyas and the Vijayanagar kings. From the iconographic, architectural and inscriptional evidence, the ten Mahishāsuramardanī images, described in this paper, may be dated from 8th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. The date of some of these images may even be earlier than the 8th century A.D.

TWO METAL IMAGES OF MAHĀŚRĪ TĀRĀ

SHRI PRATAPADITYA PAL

THE images, under discussion, were both found in Nepal and are at present in the private collections of Shri S. K. Saraswati and Shri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee in Calcutta. Cast in bronze, they are identical iconographically as well as sculpturally. The following description will therefore suffice for each.

The image shows a goddess seated on a lotus pedestal in *lalitāsana*, the right leg hanging down and being supported on a smaller lotus. The two hands are held near the breast in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. She is flanked on the left by a blue lotus and on the right by an ordinary one. She is clad in a sārī and a scarf girdles her waist. She is richly decked with elaborate jewellery, such as, anklets (*nūpūra*), a waistgirdle (*mekhalā*), bracelets (*valaya*), armlets (*keyūra*), necklace (*hāra*), neck-collar (*graiveyaka*) ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*) and on her head is a tiara with the hair raised up in a chignon.

As regards the identification of the goddess, reference may be made to a *sādhana* which is found to have a fundamental agreement with the image. The *sādhana* may be quoted here :

Mahāśrītarāṁ chandrāsanasthāṁ śyāmavarṇāṁ dvibhujāṁ hastadvayena vyākhyānamudrādharāṁ ekabaktrāṁ sarvālaṇkāra-bhūṣitāṁ pārśvadvayenotpalaśobhāṁ suvarṇasiṁhāsanopari apāś-rayādiśobhāṁ nānā-puṣpāśokachampakanāgeśvarapārijātakādibhi-rājitāṁamoghasiddhimakutinīm

Mahāśrītārāyā pārśve Ekajaṭāmardhaparyaṅkapbiṣṭāṁ nīla-varṇāṁ kartṛikapāladharāṁ sakrodhāṁ lambodarāṁ piṅgalajaṭābi-bhūṣitāṁ vyāghracharmāmbaradharāṁ dakṣiṇe pārśve Aśokakāntā pītavarṇāṁ ratnamakuṭinīṁ vajrāśokadharām punarvāme Āryyā-Jāṅgulīṁ śyāmavarṇāṁ sarpavaradahastāṁ dakṣiṇe Mahāmāyūrīṁ mayūrapicchavaradahastām..... /

Rājalīlā (lalitā) sthitā devī Mahāśrī karūṇānvitā //

(*Sādhanamālā* : Vol. I, p. 244).

"The goddess Mahāśrī Tārā should be conceived as seated in *chandrāsana* on a golden throne; she is of blue complexion (*śyāma*) and two armed; the two hands are held in the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā*; she is one faced and is profusely ornamented; two lotuses adorn both her sides while lotuses and various flowers like *Aśoka, champaka, nāgeśvara, pārijāta,* etc. surround her figure; the goddess bears the effigy of Amoghasiddhi on her crown.

"On her left is Ekajaṭā seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*; she is of blue complexion, holds the dagger (*kartṛi*) and the skull-cup (*kapāla*) in her hands and shows and angry expression on her face; she is pot-bellied and wears a tiger skin; the hair is raised up in tawny matted locks. On her right is Aśokakāntā, of yellow complexion, having a jewelled crown and holding the thunder (*vajra*) and *Aśoka* branch. To left again is Ārya Jāṅgulī, who is of blue complexion (*śyāma*) and who shows snake (*sarpa*) and boon-giving-pose (*varada*) in two hands. To right again is Mahāmāyūrī holding the tail of a peacock (*mayūrapiccha*) and showing the boon-giving pose (*varada*).

"Mahāśrī Tārār, the all compassionate, should be seated in the *rājalīlā* (or *lalita*) pose."

It will be noticed that in each of the images under discussion the goddess holds her hands in *dharmacakrapravartana* or *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* as given in the text with lotuses of two varieties adorning the two sides. As far as the *āsana* is concerned she is seated neither in *chandrāsana* nor in *rājalīlā* but in *lalitāsana*. The last attitude is also prescribed for the goddess as noted above. The goddess represented here is thus evidently Mahāśrī Tārā. Indeed, the absence of the attendant goddesses should not make us hesitant about our identification. Being metal images, the accessory divinities in each case must have originally been placed on the throne pedestal which however is, unfortunately, lost. In any case, the only other goddess in the Mahāyāna pantheon, who could possibly be identified with that in the images in question, is Prajñāpāramitā. But, necessarily, Prajñāpāramitā must have a manuscript either in one of her hands or placed on a lotus at the side, which definitely does not occur in the present images. The fundamental agreement of the goddess represented in each of the images with the description of Mahāśrī Tārā in the *Sādhanamālā* leaves no doubt about the identification. Incidentally, Mahāśrī Tārā, as the *mantra* (*oṁ tāre tuttāre ture dhanaṁ dade svāhā*) included in the *sādhana* suggests, was invoked for obtaining wealth.

Images of Mahāśrī Tārā are comparatively rare and reference may be made here to other extant representations of the goddess. A stone image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and two miniatures in two

manuscripts of *Ashṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* supply us with three other known representations of the goddess. The stone image had been noticed by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, once in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (pp. 106-107) where it was described as Khadiravanī Tārā, and next in his Introduction to the *Sādhanamālā* (II, p. CLXXIV) where it was correctly identified as Mahāśrī Tārā.

It is interesting to note that the principal goddess in this image has been rendered identically as in the two bronzes. Seated on an ornate pedestal in *lalitāsana*, her hands show the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. Two lotuses, one blue and the other conventional adorn her sides. On her left is Ekajaṭā, pot-bellied and angry-looking, holding a *kartṛi* in her right hand and a *kapāla* in the left with the hair raised up in a chignon. On the right is Aśokakāntā Mārīcī, the right hand holding a *vajra* and the left the twig of an *aśoka* tree. The elaborate stela shows two vidhyādharas immediately above the head of the goddess and five miniature figures of the Dhyānī Buddhas arranged in a circle, the central position being occupied by Amoghasiddhi.

Of the two miniatures, one occurs in a manuscript, dated, N.S. 184/A.D. 1064, now in the collection of Shri S. K. Saraswati. The goddess is seated on a throne with her right leg tucked up on top of the left which is spread out. The two hands show the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*, but there is only one lotus at her side, which is blue. Her complexion is deep green (*haritavarṇā*), while she is dressed and bedecked as richly as in the metal images. The goddess, seated in the centre, is accompanied on either side by five attendant figures. On her left is a pot-bellied goddess in blue (*nīlavarṇā*), of a terrible appearance and holding a *kartṛi* in her right hand and a *kapāla* in the left. She is definitely Ekajaṭā of the *sādhana*. On her right is a goddess, yellow complexioned (pitavarṇā), the right hand showing the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* while the left cannot be seen. It is difficult to identify her except for the fact that her colour, yellow, is the same as that prescribed for Aśokakāntā in the *sādhana*. Behind Ekajaṭā is a standing male figure of yellow complexion (pita-varṇa), the right hand showing the *jñāna-mudrā*, the left not being visible. He is flanked by two figures at the sides as also one behind at the extreme and whose faces only are visible. Correspondingly and similarly positioned on the other side of the principal goddess, there is a white male figure whose right hand shows the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* and who is accompanied by three other figures whose faces only are visible. The insufficient data therefore make the identification of these attendant figures almost an impossibility. It may be noted that the background in the painting has been filled up with foliage motifs, evidently representations of the various flowers as prescribed in the *sādhana*. The miniature, it is interesting to observe, bears a label '*Khairavaṇi* (*Khadiravaṇi*) *Tārā*; but it is certainly wrong.

The other miniature is found in a manuscript (No. A.15) in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Here the goddess is seated on a lotus seat with the right leg placed across the left which hangs down freely. Her complexion is dark green and both her hands are held in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On her left is a single blue lotus. She is clad in a śāri and is as exuberantly ornamented as in the representations described above. An oval shaped aureole graces her head while the background is decorated with foliage motifs. The goddess is seated on one side in the painting and has eight attendant figures in front of her, all of whom are not identifiable. A figure in yellow, three-eyed, and seated in *paryaṅkāsana* immediately in front, has her right hand held near the breast while the left holds the *vajra* and the branch of an *aśoka* tree. Evidently there can be no doubt in identifying her with Aśokakāntā Mārīcī of the *sādhana*. Next, a figure in blue, pot-bellied, of a terrible appearance, holding the *kartṛi* in her right hand, the left not being visible, and the hair raised up in a chignon, is undoubtedly Ekajaṭā of the *sādhana*. Behind them are two rows of three figures each. In the row immediately behind Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā, a figure in red in the centre is flanked on the sides by a figure in purple showing the *jñāna-mudrā* and one in white showing the *añjali-mudrā* with their hands. The extreme row has a figure in yellow showing the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* flanked by two figures in blue whose faces can only be seen.

On a comparative study of all these representations we find that, iconographically, although none of them is in exact conformity with the injunctions laid down in the *sādhana*, they are, none-the-less, fundamentally faithful. As has already been noted, the bronzes might have had the accessory divinities, which are now lost. The stone image not only shows two of the four attendant divinities as required by the *sādhana* but is the only example bearing the effigy of Amoghasiddhi, whose emanation the goddess is. It is possible that the bronze images too might have had this characteristic iconographic cognisance on the *prabhāvalis* which are now missing. Among the large number of attendants in the miniatures, it is probable that, besides the ones identified above, the others are also present but are unrecognizable being inadequately rendered. It may also be noted that the leaves and blossoms, decorating the background in these paintings, are an attempt to render the various flowers as given in the *sādhana*.

In conclusion, a few words may be said on the sculptural aspect. Indeed, from an artist's point of view, the stone image leaves little to be desired. Scholars have been effusive in their eulogies regarding this piece of sculpture, some drawing an analogy with that supreme effort on the part of the Javanese artists to express the form of Prajñāpāramitā, now in the Leiden Museum. Curiously enough, this stone figure

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has a striking resemblance with the two bronze images under discussion. Besides iconographical traits, which were identical as described above, these three images resemble one another in form as well as in style, the materials of the last two being different. The same modelling, the same sharp features of the various limbs and the same plastic volumes and linear contours, characterise all the three images. In fact, the metallic precision of the bronze images is singularly perceptible in that in stone. Necessarily, the bronzes are completely in the round whereas the stone image is in a very high relief, being provided with a stela at the back and yet hardly is there any fundamental difference. That the stone image belongs to the Pāla period is evident not only from stylistic considerations but also from the palæography of the inscription on the pedestal. The bronze images, it is not unreasonable to think, belonged also to the same epoch, and were possibly also of East Indian workmanship. Stylistically again, the figures of the goddess in these images have close affinities with the representations in the miniatures.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON LĪLĀVATĪ OF BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA

SHRI SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJI

THERE is hardly any scholar of Indian Mathematics, who has failed to take any notice of Bhāskarācaryā—the unique contributor to mathematical thought and symbolism. He has written many mathematical and astronomical works, of which mention should be made here of (1) *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi*, (2) *Karaṇakutūhala* and (3) *Sarvatobhadra-yantra*. The first-mentioned work is divided into four chapters *viz.*, *Līlāvatī*, *Bījagaṇita*, *Grahagaṇita* and *Gola*. They may be regarded as most valuable writings on mathematics and astronomy respectively. That he was a great scholar is proved by his extant works in one of which he claims to have been well-versed in (*a*) grammar, (*b*) medical science, (*c*) logic, (*d*) mathematics and (*e*) the Vedas.

Bhāskara may be credited as the originator of the system known as ' Differential Calculus ', which has usually been attributed to Leibnitz and Newton. From a study of the concluding portion of his *Golādhyāya* we come to know that he was born at Bijjaḍabiḍ in the year 1036 Śaka, corresponding to A.D. 1114. In some works, based on *Līlāvatī*, the date of his birth has been given as 1072 Śaka *i.e.* 1150 A.D. The identification of Bijjaḍabiḍ or Bijjalabiḍ has been a matter of great dispute. Thus, while some would identify this place with Bijapur in Karṇāṭak, others would with Biḍ in Maharāṣṭra. Mr. H. T. Colebrooke has tried to identify this place with Bedar (Bidar).[1] Our knowledge regarding the family of Bhāskara was very meagre until the discovery of a copper plate inscription, dated in the Śaka year 1128 from Chalisgaon by Dr. Bhau Daji. From a study of this inscription as well as from other sources, we come to learn that he was the son of one Maheśvaropādhyāya belonging to the Śaṇḍilya Gotra; and that he was a pious Vaiṣṇava, well-versed in the performances of the Vedic and Smārta rites. It is said that Bhāskara enjoyed a long life. He wrote his *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi* at the age of 36. *Karaṇakutūhala* was probably his last work, composed at the advanced age of 69.

1. *Asiatic Researchs*, vol. 9, p. 351.

Līlāvatī of Bhāskara has inspired a number of commentaries, translations and editions of which the following need mention :—

(1) *Gaṇitāmṛtalaharī* by Rāmakṛṣṇa, 1261 Śaka *i.e.* 1339 A.D.

(2) *Pāṭīgaṇitakaumudī* by Nārāyaṇa (probably a younger brother of Rāmakṛṣṇa), 1279 Śaka *i.e.* 1357 A.D.

(3) *Gaṇitāmṛtasāgarī* by Gaṅgādhara, 1342, Śaka *i.e.* 1420 A.D.

(4) *Buddhivilāsinī* by Gaṇeśa Daivajña, 1467 Śaka, *i.e.* 1545 A.D.

(5) *Līlāvatī-ṭīkā* by Mahīdāsa, 1509 Śaka *i.e.* 1587 A.D.

(6) Persian Translation of *Līlāvatī* by poet Faizi, 1587 A.D.

(7) *Observations on the Mathematical science of the Hindus with extracts from Persian translations of the Leelawuttee and Beej Gunnit*, by E. Strachey, A.D. 1805.

(8) *Lilawati* (English Translation by J. Taylor), A.D. 1816.

(9) *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara* (English Translation), by H. T. Colebrooke, A.D. 1893.

(10) *Līlāvatī* (Text with introduction), edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, A.D. 1912.

The contents of *Līlāvatī* are based mostly on the earlier works of Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara and Mahīdhara. The topics discussed in this paper, however, are connected with the coin-denominations, their weights, as well as the prices of various commodities current in the time of Bhāskara, as referred to in this work. He refers to some business transactions to illustrate matters. It may not be improper here to observe that *Līlavatī* was written in the tradition of Commercial Arithmetic, first established in some of the mediæval Sanskrit treatises.

Bhāskara has given the tables of money and weight, current in his time. The titles of the tables (like table of money, table of weight etc.), which are not given in the text, are taken from the commentaries in one of which (that by Gaṇeśa Daivajña) it is said that the weights and measures of the Magadha country were adopted as the standard.

Table of Money

20 *varāṭakas*	make	1	*kākiṇī*
4 *kākiṇīs*	,,	1	*paṇa*
16 *paṇas*	,,	1	*dramma*
16 *drammas*	,,	1	*niṣka**

* According to Bhāskara, 'niṣka', or gold coin was the highest monetary unit, and 'varaṭaka', or cowry-shell the lowest. Cowry-shells were meant for small transactions. Gifts were generally made in cowry-shells.

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(*Varāṭakānām daśakadvayaṁ yat sā kākiṇī tāśca paṇaścatasraḥ/ Te soḍaśa dramma ihāvagaonyo drammaistathā soḍaśabhiśca niṣkaḥ* //

chap. 1, v. 2) (2).

Table of Weight

2 *yavas*	make	1 *guñjā*
3 *guñjās*	,,	1 *valla*
8 *vallas*	,,	1 *dharaṇa*
2 *dharaṇas*	,,	1 *gadyāṇaka.*

(*Tulyā yavābhyāṁ kathitā'tra guñjā vallastriguñjo dharaṇam ca te'stān / Gadyāṇakastaddvayamindra tulyairvallaisthaiko ghaṭakaḥ pradiṣṭaḥ* //
chap. 1, verse. 3.)

Another Table of Weight

5 *guñjas*	*make*	1 *māṣa*
16 *māṣas*	,,	1 *karṣa*
4 *karṣas*	,,	1 *pala.*

(*Daśārdhaguñjaṁ pravadanti māṣaṁ māṣāhvayaiḥ soḍabhiśca karṣam / Karṣaiścaturbhiśca palaṁ tulājñāḥ karṣam suvarṇasya suvarṇasaṁjñam* //
chap. 1, v. 4)

The relation between the various weight-denominations is noted below:—

(*a*) 8 *guñjās* (or *ratis*) make 1 *valla*
1 *guñjā* makes 1/8 *valla*
80 *guñjās* make 1/8 × 80 *vallas* = 80/8 vallas
or 26-2/8 *vallas.*

(*b*) 5 *guñjās* make 1 *māṣa*
∴ 16 *māṣas* make 5 × 16 = *guñjās*
(or 1 *karṣa or* 1 *suvarṇa*)

(*c*) 16 *māṣas* (or 1 *karṣa* or 80 *guñjās*) make 80/8 *vallas*
∴ 1 *māṣa* makes 80/8 × 1/16 or 1-2/8 *valla.*

(*d*) 8 *vallas* make 1 *dharaṇa*
∴ 1 *valla* makes 1/8 *dharaṇa*
∴ 80/8 *vallas* (or 1 *karṣa*
or 1 *suvarṇa*) make 1/8 × 80/8 = 10/8 or 8-1/8 *dharaṇa.*

2. *Līlāvati*–Sudhākara Dvivedi's edn.—1912.

(*e*) 2 *dharaṇas* make 1 *gadyāṇaka*

∴ 1 *dharaṇa* (or 8 *vallas*) makes 1/2 *gadyāṇaka*

∴ 10/8 *dharaṇas* (or 1 *karṣa*) make 1/2 × 10/8 = 5/8 or 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka.*

(*f*) 5/8 *gadyāṇaka* makes 1 *karṣa*

∴ 1 *gadyāṇaka* 1 × 8 / 5 *karṣa* make 8/5 *karṣa.*

(*g*) 1 *valla* makes 3 *guñjās*

∴ 8 *vallas* (or 1 *dharaṇa*) make 3 × 8 or 24 *guñjās*

∴ 16 *vallas* (or 2 *dharaṇas*) make 24 × 2 or 48 *guñjās*

It may be concluded that 16 *māṣas* or 1 *karṣa* or 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka* or 3-1/2 *dharaṇas* or 26-2/3 *vallas* make 80 *guñjās* or *ratis.*

16 *māṣas* = 1 *karṣa* = 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka* = 3-2/3 *dharaṇas* = 26-2/3 *vallas.*

It has already been observed that Bhāskara had given the relative value of coins current in his time. In verse 2, chap. 1 of his *Līlāvatī*, it is said that 16 *drammas* were equal to 1 *niṣka.* These two probably stand for silver and gold coin-units respectively. It may be noted in this connection that I *karṣa* of gold, according to the author of *Līlāvatī*, stands for '*suvarṇa*' or gold (...*karṣaṁ suvarṇasya suvarṇasaṁjñam.*//— verse 4, chap. I). From a study of this verse, it appears that the word, '*suvarṇa*' when referred to metals in general signifies the weight passing under this name, but in reference to gold this weight is called either '*karṣa*' or '*suvarṇa*'. As regards the silver unit of coinage, it was variously termed as '*purāṇa*', '*dharaṇa*' or '*kārṣāpaṇa*'. It weighed 16 *māṣas* or 32 *ratis* or 57 *grains.* Its weight was only 2/5 of a '*suvarṇa*'. We all know that the silver coin, '*drachme*' had a long life in India as '*dramma*'. It is interesting to note that Bhāskara has substituted '*dramma*' in place of '*purāṇa-nāṇaka*'—used by his predecessors like Mahāvīra and Śrīdhara. The ratio between the prices of gold and silver, according to the author of *Līlavatī*, was 16 : 1. (16 *drammas* = 1 *niṣka*). The unit of copper coinage was known as '*paṇa*'. But unfortunately, the unit of copper currency actually in vogue in the age of Bhaskara is not known to us. According to Manu, the weight of a copper '*kārṣāpaṇa*' was 80 *ratis* or 140 grains or 16 *māṣas* (according to Cunningham, however, 146 grains). From a study of different *dharmaśāstras, viz.*, Vaśiṣṭha, Gautama and Uśanas, it is clear that a '*paṇa*' weighed 100 *ratis* or 175 grains or 20 *māṣas.* Now,

let us determine the ratio between the prices of silver and copper, as revealed in *Līlāvatī*. In the Medinīkoṣa the ratio has been given as 16 : 1. The same ratio has also been maintained in *Līlāvatī*. In the mediæval times the unit of silver coinage was a piece of about 50 grains and that of copper coinage about 140 grains. Now, allowing an alloy of 20 per cent in these silver coins, it may be observed that 40 grains of silver were equal in value to 16 × 140 grains (16 *paṇas* = 1 *dramma*) of copper. The ratio in the prices of the two metals would thus be 1 : 56 (cf. Altekar, *JNSI*, vol. II. p. 13 ; Agarwal, *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 79). *Kākiṇī*, according to the author of *Līlāvatī*, was the smallest unit in the copper coinage system (4 *kākiṇīs* = 1 *paṇa*). It may be observed here that Kauṭilya regarded '*paṇas*' (1 *paṇa*, 1/2 *paṇa* and 1/4 *paṇa* coins) as silver coins ; and *māṣakas* and *kakiṇīkās* or *kākiṇīs* (1 *māṣaka* and 1/2 *māṣaka* ; 1 *kākiṇikā* and 1/2 *kākiṇika*) as copper coins.

The tables of money and weight, given in *Līlāvatī*, may be compared with those of other works (for the tables of money and weight given in *Līlāvatī*, see *supra*.).

Table of weights for the bimetallic system, which was prevalent in the age of Kauṭilya, is given below :—

Silver	*Weight*	*Copper*
1 *kārṣāpaṇa*	= 32 *ratis* (56 grs.)	
1/2 ,,	= 16 ,, (28 grs.)	
1/4 ,,	= 8 ,, (14 grs.)	= *catur—māṣaka.*
1/8 ,,	= 4 ,, (7 grs.)	= 1 *dvi—māṣaka.*
1/16 ,,(in value only)	= 2 ,, (3·5 grs.)	= 1 ,,
1/32 ,, ,,	= 1 *rati* (1·75 gr.)	= 1/2 ,,
1/64 ,, ,,	= ·5 ,, (·82 gr.)	= 1 *kākiṇikā*
1/128 ,, ,,	= ·25 ,, (·41 grs.)	= 1/2 ,,

Table of weight of copper coins, which was in use in Vidiśā and Mālava-deśa :—

1 *kārṣāpaṇa*	= 80 *ratis* or 140 grs.	(146 grs. according to Cunningham)	
1/2 ,,	= 40 ,, 70 grs.	(72 ,, ,,)	
1/4 ,,	= 20 ,, 35 ,,	(36 ,, ,,)	
1/8 ,,	= 10 ,, 17·50	(18 ,, ,,)	
1/16 ,, = 1 *māṣaka*	= 5 ,, 8·75 ,,	(9 ,, ,,)	
1/32 ,, = 1/2 ,,	= 2-1/2 ,, 4·37 ,,	(4·5 ,, ,,)	
1/64 ,, =1/4 or 1 *kākiṇikā*	= 1-1/4 rati 2·25 ,,	(same)	
1/128 ,, = 1/8 or 1/2 *kākiṇikā*	= 0·62 or 1·12 gr.	(same)	

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It has already been noticed that Bhāskara had given the prices of different commodities in terms of coin-units, prevalent in his times, by way of illustrations. Here are some examples taken fom his *Līlāvatī* (based on English Translation of J. Taylor) to illustrate the methods of Commercial Arithmetics :—

(*a*) *Rule of Three* : *Direct proportion* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 2 *palas* and a half of saffron are purchased for 3/7 of *niṣka*. What can be bought for 9 *niṣkas* ?—The answer is : 52 *palas* and 2 *karṣas* of saffron.

(2) 63 *palas* of fine camphor produce 104 *niṣkas*. What will 12 *palas* and a quarter produce ?—The result is : 20 *niṣkas*, 3 *drammas*, 8 *paṇas*, 3 *kākiṇīs*, 11-1/9 *varāṭakas*.

(3) 1 *khārikā* and an eighth of rice are got for 2 *drammas*. How many will be got for 70 *paṇas* ?—The product is 2 *khārikās*, 7 *droṇas*, 7 *āḍhakas* and 2 *prasthas*. It is interesting to note here that 2 *drammas* are reduced to 32 *paṇas* in order to make the number of the given product *i.e.* 70 *paṇas* of the same denomination.

Readers can make an idea about the prices of saffron, camphor and rice prevalent in the time of Bhāskara.

(*b*) *Rule of Three* : *Inverse proportion* (*Chap. II, See. VI*)

In the opinion of Bhāskara where prices of living beings like girls (slaves ?) and cattle are regulated by their age, or where the weight and colour on the touchstone (*varṇa*) are compared (in the case of gold only), or where heaps of rice etc. are subdivided, there only this rule comes into operation. Let us illustrate them with the help of suitable examples :—

(1) *Girls* (*slaves* ?)—A girl (female slave ?) of 16 years is purchased for 32 *niṣkas* (according to Faizi *ashrafis*). What will be the cost of one 20 years old ?—The result is : 25 *niṣkas*, 9 *drammas*, 9 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 8 *varaṭakas*. This is probably a pointer to the fact that the system of slavery was still in vogue in the time of Bhāskara.

(2) *Cattle*—Bullocks which have ploughed 4 seasons cost 4 *niṣkas*. What will be the cost of the same which have ploughed 12 seasons ?—The product is 1 *niṣka* and fraction 1/3.

(3) *Gold*—1 *gadyāṇaka* of gold (or *suvarṇa*) of 10 colour is obtained for 1 *niṣka*. How many of 15 colour will be obtained for the same amount ?—The answer will be 2/3 of a *niṣka i.e.* 10 *drammas*, 10 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas*. It may be pointed out here that 1 *gadyāṇaka* was equal to 2 *dharaṇas*.

(c) *Rule of Seven* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 8 pieces of silk, each 8 cubits in breadth and 8 in length, are purchased for 100. What will one piece, 8 cubits and a half in length and one-half in breadth, be purchased for ?—The result is : 11 *drammas*, 9 *paṇas*, 1 *kākiṇī* and 6-2/3 *varāṭakas*. An idea about the prevailing price of silk at that time can be formed from this example.

(d) *Rule of Nine* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 30 benches, each 12″ thick, 12″ broad and 14 cubits long, are purchased for 100 *niṣkas*. What will be the cost of 14 benches, each 8″ thick, 12″ broad and 10 cubits long?—The product will be : 16 *niṣkas*, 10 *drammas*, 10 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas*. It gives us an idea about the cost of benches, prevalent in the time of Bhāskara.

(e) *Rule of Eleven* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 30 benches were lying at a distace of 1 league ; and to bring 14 benches which in length, breadth and thickness are less by 4 than the former from the distance of 6 leagues. How much will be the transport charges (*bhāṭaka*, referred to in this example, stands for its *Bhāṣā* equivalent *bhāḍā*) ? The transport charges will be 8 *drammas*. An idea about the hiring charges of coolies can be formed from this single illustration.

(f) *Barter System* (*Chap. II, Sec. VIII*)

(1) 300 mangoes are purchased for 1 *dramma*, and 30 pomegranates for 1 *pana*. How many pomegranates will be got in exchange for 10 mangoes ?—The answer is : 16 pomegranates. For the sake of exchange a '*dramma*' is reduced to 16 *paṇas*. We get here an idea about the prices of fruits (like mangoes and pomegranates) prevalent in that age.

(g) *Mixed Guantities* (*Chap. III, Sec. I*)

(1) 94 *niṣkas* were lent out in 3 sums—one at 5% another at 3% and the third at 4% ; and each of these sums produced an equal amount of interest in 7, 10 and 5 months respectively. What was the principal lent at each rate of interest ? The sums lent at each rate of interest are *niṣkas* 24, 28 and 42 respectively ; and by the rule of 5 quantities we obtain the equal amount of interest as 42/5 *niṣkas* or 8 *niskas*, 6 *drammas*, 6 *paṇas* and 12 *varāṭakas*. It gives an idea about the rates of interest, prevalent at that time.

(*h*) *Buying and Selling* (*Chap. III, Sec. III*)

(1) 8 *māṇas* and a half of rice are obtained for 1 *dramma*, and 8 *māṇas* of kidney-beans for the same sum ; then taking 2 proportions of rice and 1 proportion of bean, how much of each will be obtained for 18 *kākiṇīs* ? The cost of rice will be 10 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas* and that of beans 2 *kākiṇīs* and 6-2/3 *varāṭakas*. For the sake of easy *transaction*, 1 *dramma* has been reduced here to 64 *kākiṇīs*. The ratio of price between these two cereal-crops will be 7 : 16. In a previous illustration we have seen that 1-1/8 *khārikā* i.e. 9 *māṇas* of rice could be obtained for the 2 *drammas*, where as only 7 *māṇas* (3½ *maṇas* for 1 *dramma*) can be had for the same amount. Hence, it appears that any one purchasing rice by the *khārikā* weight will gain 2 *māṇas* in each *dramma*.

(2) One can get 1 *pala* of fine camphor for 2 *niṣkas*, 1 *pala* of sandal-wood 1/8th of a *dramma*, and 1/2 *pala* of aloe-wood (*agru*) also 1/8th of a *dramma*. A man gave a *niṣka* and asked for one part of camphor, 16 parts of sandal-wood and 8 parts of aloe-wood. The answers in price and in quantity for these goods will be respectively *drammas*, 14, 2/9, 8/9, and 8/9 ; and *palas* 4/9, 64/9 and 32/9. It gives us an idea about the prices of perfumery goods (as well as of their preparation formulæ) prevalent at that time.

(*i*) *Computing Gold* (*Chap. III, Sec. IV*)

I need not quote any example here to elaborate the system. Some general observations, however, can be made here. This chapter will be useful to those people who are in some way or other connected with the bullion-market.

Bhāskara has used the term " *Suvarṇa-gaṇita* " in order to denote ' *Suvarṇa-miśraṇa* ' or computation of gold ' which deals with the weight, fineness and alligation media of gold. The term ' *varṇa* ' stands for colour of gold in the touchstone. The Hindus judge the purity of gold by colour only. According to *AIN-I-AKBARI*, the highest degree of purity of gold is 12 degrees. According to experts in ' *Suvarṇa-gaṇita* ', degrees of fineness in gold increase in every decrease in weight by refining. For example, if 20 *māṣas* are reduced to 16 due to refining process, then the colour of gold is 15.

(*j*) *Investigation of Mixtures* (*Chap. IV, Sec. IV*)

In the examples, quoted under this heading, Bhāskara has given the prices of emeralds, pearls and diamonds.

From a study of the above illustrations we can form an idea about the condition of India of that period which produced Bhāskara.

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CITY-ARCHITECTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE APARĀJITAPṚECHĀ OF BHUVANADEVA

Dr. Udai Narain Ray

From various records, we gather authentic and valuable informations about cities and city-life in ancient India. They bear testimony to the fact that from Takṣaśilā in the north to Madurā in the south and from Ujjayinī in the west to Tāmraliptī in the east, there were found to exist numerous important cities, the notices of which have frequently been made in the contemporary evidences. In the early Indian literature, we come across ample references to cities as distinct from the villages. As early as the fifth century B.C. Pāṇini speaks of "Grāma" and "Nagara" separately[1], which may be used as an evidence to prove that the two were different types of habitation. While drawing distinction between them, the earlier works on Indian architecture define city as a populous centre, noted for strong fortification and inhabited mostly by traders (जनैःपरिवृतं क्रयविक्रयकादिभिः) and industrial workers (कर्म्मकारैः समन्वितम्)[2]. According to them, it consisted of four impressive city-gates in the four directions (दिक्षु चतुर्द्वारयुक्तम्) and splendid buildings furnished with the adequate amenities of life (सालाढ्यम्)[3]. The village, on the other hand, was marked for its simple appearance and in most of the cases, it lacked the protection rendered by moats and walls, the provision of which was absolutely necessary in the planning of the cities.

The city-bred man has been spoken of by Vātsyāyana as the true representative of an advanced culture in his celebrated work (*Kāmasūtra*) which is an important source for the study of urban civilization of India in the early times. According to him he is excellent in fine conversation and always dignified in his behaviour. He says that city is pre-eminently a noted centre of the noble persons, whose lofty mind could assert a claim to an excellence of a high degree.[4] He condemns the manners of the village-folk and expresses his great hatred

1. "प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम्" *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 7, 3, 14.
2. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 9.
3. *Mayamata*, Chapter 10.
4. "नगरे सज्जनाश्रये स्थानम्" *Kāmasūtra*, p. 42, Sutra 2

for the rural lady by calling her a great simpleton.[5] In *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa, we read the expression "*Nāgarika-Vṛtti*", which signifies the cleverness of a person, living in the city. The hero of the play asks his friend to appease his angry beloved by the dexterous art, which is chiefly found amongst those, who are well-acquainted with the polished way of urban life.[6]

The city was considered to be a bond of affection and source of excessive gratification. That is why it was extremely disliked by those who were living in the forest for the sake of spiritual attainments. Baudhāyana expresses his hatred for city-life by saying that the person, whose mind is defiled and the senses are rendered impure due to the dust of the town, is incapable of achieving release from the corporal existence.[7] In *Śākuntalam* we find an anchorite highly lost and confused, when he found himself in the tumultuous atmosphere of the city of Hastināpura. In the drama he is reported to have said in great surprise :— "it is true that the King Duṣyanta, who had never transgressed social limits, was supremely gifted and that not even the meanest of any of the classes follows an evil course; yet with mind ever accustomed to solitude, I deem this place, teeming with men, like a house enveloped in flames."[8] In this work, another recluse also makes a similar statement. He says, "I too deem the pleasure-seeking people of this city, as the bathed deem the anointed, the pure deem the impure, the awake deem the sleep and one with free motion deems the fettered."[9] In *Swapnavāsavadattam*, which is an earlier work, we are informed of hermits, who had left the clamorous atmosphere of the city and resorted to a lonely place, where alone a serious contemplation or meditative discourse could have been possible.[10]

The most notable feature of the cities in ancient India was the architectural technique, which determined their planning in a most systematic manner. In *Mahāparinibbāva-Sutta* of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, city

5. *Ibid.*, p. 254, Sutra 32.
6. "सखे ! गच्छ, नागरिकवृत्या सान्त्वयैनाम्" *Śākuntalam*, Act V.
7. "पुररेणुकुण्ठितशरीरस्तत्परिपूर्णनेत्रवदनश्च ।
नारे वसन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यतीतिनतदस्ति" ॥ *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, 2, 3, 53.
8. महाभागः कामं नरपतिरभिन्नस्थितिरसौ
न कश्चिद् वर्णानामपथमकृष्टोऽपि भजते ।
तथापीदं शश्वत्परिचितविविक्तेन मनसा
जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव" ॥ *Śākuntalam*, Act V, Verse 11.
9. "अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुचिर शुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव सुप्तम् ।
बद्धमिव स्वैरगतजनमिव सुखसंगिनमवैमि" ॥ *Ibid.*, Act V, 12.
10. "नगरपरिभवान् विमोक्तुमेते वनमभिगम्य मनस्विनोवसन्ति"
Swapnavāsavadattam, Act I.

architecture is technically known as "*Nagara-Māpana.*"[11] It also occurs in *Mahaummaga Jātaka*,[12] *Mahābhārata*[13] and *Milindapañho.*[14] In *Rāmāyaṇa*[15] and Hathigumpha[16] inscription of King Khārvela, it has been mentioned as "*Nagara-Niveśana.*" In *Yuga-Purāṇa*[17] of *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, it is known as "*Nagara-Sthāpana*"; whereas *Mayamata* which is a comprehensive treatise on architecture and which is copiously quoted as an authority by subsequent writers, acknowledges it as "*Nagara-Vinyāsa.*"[18]

The word "*Nagara-Niveśana*"[19] also occurs in *Aparājitapṛechā* which is an exhaustive composition on the theory and practice of the science of architecture. Scholars are inclined to believe that it was composed in the 12th century A.D. and deserves to be ranked with *Mānasāra* or any architectural treatise of a high order. This work throws light on various aspects of city-planning, *e.g.* the method of fortification, construction of the roads and selection of the site for the erection of the palace and other important buildings.

Aparājitapṛechā informs us that cities in ancient India were laid out in accordance with a scheme under the supervision of an able architect known as *Sūtradhāra.* He was required to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of architecture (वास्तुविद्याविवोधकः).[20] This is also clear from the expressions like "*Vāstuvidyādikauśalaḥ*", "*Vāstumarmādibodhakaḥ*" and "*Vastuśāstrādibodhanam*", which have been used to describe his technical qualifications.[21] He was alsorequired to be expert in the examination of the site (भूपरीक्षा), fixation of the nails for measuring the ground (कीलिकारोपणादिकम्) and the character of the ground on the basis of its colour, smell, taste and slanting direction (वर्णगंधरसास्वादप्लवादिभूमिलक्षणस्)[22]. He was also well-versed in the measurement of plot with the help of the tape (रेखानांविविधाकाराः) and the

11. "सुनीध-वस्सकारा मगधमहामत्ता पाटलिगामे नगरं मापेन्ति"
Dīgha-Nikāya, 2, 16, 1, 26.
12. "नगरं वेदेहेन सुमापितम्" *Jātaka*, 6, 448.
13. "नगरं मापयामासुः" *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, Chapter 199.
14. "नगरं मापेतुकामो" *Milindapānho*, p. 82.
15. "विशश्य पञ्चमिर्वर्षैर्भरतो राघवानुजः"
Rāmāyaṇa, *Uttara-Kāṇḍa*, Canto 101, line 31.
16. वातविहित-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति"
Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207.
17. "स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुण्यारामजनाकुलम्" *Yuga-Purāṇa*, p. 81
18. "नगरादिनां...विन्यासम्" *Mayamata* p. 38.
19. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 189.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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construction of huge buildings of various types (प्रासादा विविधाकाराः).[23] He was to have a familiar knowledge of ascertainment of the extent of the ground by comparison with a standard (मान्तेन्मानप्रमाणं च ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा) and skilful in the art of joinery (संधि...कुशलम्).[24] He was a specialist in the construction of the moat, rampart, gates, roads, buildings and palaces.[25] He was also expected to be wise (महाप्राज्ञः), erudite (शास्त्रज्ञः) and fully conversant with draftsmanship (चित्रादिकुशलः).[26]

The *Sūtradhāra* of *Aparājitapṛechā* is to be compared with *Sthapati* of *Mayamata*, *Śilparatna*, *Vāstuvidyā* and *Manuṣyālayacandrikā*. According to *Mayamata*, *Sthapati* should be eminently skilled in designing the buildings (वास्तुविद्याब्धिपारगः), competent in the lay out of the cities (स्थापनार्हःस्यात्), skilled in drawing sketches (चित्रज्ञः) and thoroughly acquainted with surface-reading (सर्व्वदेशज्ञः).[27] He is also to be compared with *Vāstuvidyācārya* (*Vatthuvijjācariya*) of the *Jātakas*.[28] In his work, the *Sūtradhāra* was helped by other architects (कर्मकारापरैः).[29] All these architects were to be richly honoured for the merit of their work by the founder of the city.[30] The employment of the chief architect and his assistants, have been referred to in the earlier works also. In *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, their group is mentioned as " *Śilpi-Saṁgha.* " It was proficient in the work of remodelling and the enlargement of the cities.[31]

The most important problem, which confronted the *Sūtradhāra*, was the selection of the site, where the city was to be laid out. The examination of the site by *Sūtradhāra* is known as " *Bhu-parīkṣā* " (भूपरीक्षा) in *Aparājitapṛechā*.[32] This word occurs in *Mānasāra*[33] and *Mayamata*[34], which also recommend the basis of the choice of the ground. In *Aparājitapṛechā*, the confluence of two rivers has been

23. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
25. " पुरप्राकारपरिरवाप्रतोलीमार्गगोपुरम् ।
गृहं च राजवेश्याधं ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा ॥ " *Ibid.*, p. 118.
" पुरप्राकारपरिरवाप्रतोलीमार्गगोपुरम् ।
वेश्मानि राजवेश्मानि सभां शालां गजाश्वयो ! ॥ " *Ibid.*, p. 6.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
27. *Mayamata*, Chapter 4.
28. *Jātaka*, 1, 297.
29. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 119.
30. " सर्वेषां कर्मकराणां धनं दद्याच्च सर्वतः " *Ibid.*, p. 871.
31. " तां शिल्पिसंघाः प्रभुणा नियुक्तास्तथागतां संमृत्साधनत्वात् ।
पुरं नवीचक्रुरणं विसर्गात् मेघाः निदाघग्लीपतामिवोर्वीम् ॥ "
Raghuvaṁśa, 16, 38.
32. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 120.
33. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 4.
34. *Mayamata*, Chapter 8.

regarded as the most suitable site for the construction of a town (नदीतां संगमेषु.)[35] In case such a site was not available, the city was to be laid out either in some alluring place or near a forest or a hill.[36] Its situation near a hill or a forest was desirable, because a natural source of defence of the city was available in this case. It should be mentioned at this place that according to *Mahābhārata*[37] and the testimony of the Chinese traveller Fahien [38], the ancient city of Girivraja was protected by five hills, namely Vārāha, Vaihāra, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri and Caityagiri. According to *Rāmāyāṇa*, the city of Ayodhyā was defended by a forest of Śāla trees.[39]

For the selection of the site, *Aparājitapṛechā* makes another recommendation which is extremely orthodox in nature. It says that the ground should be chosen in view of its colour, smell, taste and obliquity by the different castes.[40] If the ground is white in colour, it is suitable for a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly red, yellow and black, surfaces of the earth are becoming for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[41] If the ground had the odour of the curd, it was to be chosen by the Brāhmaṇas. The sites which emitted a smell of blood, salt and refuse, were to be preferred by Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[42] The soil which had the sweet flavour of honey, was fit for a Brāhmaṇa. The earth which relished savour, was to be picked out by the Kṣtriyas. The saltish and unwholesome soil was fit for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[43]. When the ground was selected on this basis, it was to be besmeared by cowdung for freedom from the

35. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, p. 113.

36. "सुप्रदे शुभे रम्ये गह्वरे गिरिमाश्रिते" *Ibid.*, p. 113.

37. "वैराहो विपुलो शैलो वाराहो वृषभस्तथा ।
ऋषिगिरिस्तात शुभाश्चैत्यक पंचमाः ॥
एते पंचाः महाशृंगाः पर्वताः शीतलद्रुमाः ।
रक्षंतीवाभिसंहृत्य संहतांगाः गिरिव्रजम् ॥"
Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. 21, 2-3.

38. Giles, Fahien, p. 49.

39. "उद्यानाम्रवणोपेतां महतीं सालमेरवलाम्"
Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto V, line 24.

40. "परीक्षयेच्च भूमाद्यं वर्णमंधेश्च स्वादतः" *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 120.

41. "श्वेता च ब्राह्मणी भूमी रक्तावै क्षात्रिया स्मृता ।
पीतवर्णा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्री च कृष्णवर्णिनी ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

42. "घृतगन्धा भवेद्विप्री राज्ञी रक्तानुगन्धिनी ।—
क्षारगन्धा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्री विष्टानुगन्धिनी ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

43. "ब्राह्मणी मधुरास्वादा कषाया क्षत्रिया तथा ।
क्षारस्वादा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्रो स्यात्कटुका तथा ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

mixture of the possible defilements and the ritual uncleanness.[44] It should be mentioned at this place that such orthodox recommendations are also available in *Mayamata* (chapter 8) and *Vāstuvidyā* (chapter 2). So far as the obliqueness of the ground is concerned, the author of *Aparājitapṛechā* is in favour of the eastern slope. According to him, it is excellent in all respects, conducive to health and possessed of the great merit of longevity.[45] The choice of the surface, sloping to the east is significant from the scientific point of view. This would enable the availability of the morning rays of the sun, which creates sound bodily conditions.

The selection of the site was followed by a ceremony for its purification. In *Aparājitapṛechā*, it is known as "*Bali-Vidhāna*"[46] This nomenclature also occurs in *Mānasāra*[47] and *Mayamata*,[48] where an eloquent description of this ceremony has been given by their authors. This ceremony was done by the *Sūtradhāra* himself with the help of a learned *Ācārya* (आचार्ये चागमैर्युक्ते) on an auspicious occasion.[49] The labourers were employed in order to fill the holes in the earth[50] and make the ground smooth by razing the mounds.[51] The *Sūtradhāra* who was clothed in white garments and carried on his neck a garland of the same colour,[52] offered worship to important gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra and goddesses like Yoginī, Kumārī and others. He took great care of the fact that adoration was paid to all the divine beings, presiding deities of the fields (क्षेत्रपाल) and guardians of the boundaries (दिग्पाल) properly.[53] This worship was followed by a gift of land, cow, horse, buffalo, gold, cloth and some other valuables.[54] It was considered that due to this ceremony, the ground was bestowed with a merit which would always remove all the hindrances and bring complete happiness to all the persons dwelling there permanently.[55]

44. "गोमयेत समालिप्य" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
45. "नीरोगा दानशीला च विशिष्टजनसेविता ।
पूर्वप्लवा तु या भूमि शोभना सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
"पूर्वप्लवा धरा श्रेष्ठा ह्यायु श्रीबलवर्द्धिनी" *Ibid.*, p. 122.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
47. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 8.
48. *Mayamata*, Chapter 8.
49. "शुभे दिने शुभे ऋक्षे सुलग्ने सुमुहूर्तके *Aparājitapṛcchā*, p. 113.
50. *Aparājitaprechā*, p. 120.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
52. "शुक्लाम्बरधरो नित्यं शुक्लमाल्यानुलेपनः" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.
54. "भूमिदानं ततो दद्याद् गोमहिष्यश्वसंयुतम्" *Ibid.*, p. 114.
55. "निर्विघ्नं च भवेत्तत्र हेतुकादिः समर्चने" *Ibid.*, p. 114.

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The purification of the ground was followed by the actual work of planning. The *Sūtradhāra* brought nails usually built of metal and fixed them on all sides in accordance with the scheme of the construction of the proposed town.[56] The nails were joined together by means of threads and with the guidance of these threads the whole site was marked out. This is known as "*Nagara-cihnāni*" (नगरचिन्हानि) in *Aparājitapṛechā*[57]. The various portions of the surface where the work of the constuction of the moat, rampart, roads, palace and other buildings was to be taken, were thus clearly indicated by the *Śilpins*.

The work of the fortification of the town was undertaken at the first instance. *Aparājitapṛechā* proposes the construction of three moats, in case the town was much bigger in size.[58] The portion of the soil where the moat was to be constructed has been known as "*Pārikheyī-Bhūmi*" (पारिखेयी भूमि) in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[59] This appears to be a mere repetition of the recommendation of three moats, made by *Arthaśāstra*[60] and *Samarāṅgaṅasūtradhāra*.[61] The three moats of *Aparājitapṛechā* seem to suggest the three types of moat known in ancient India, namely, (1) the moat full of water, (2) the moat full of mud and (3) the moat which had nothing within. The moat which was filled with water is mentioned as "*Toyapūrṇā-Parikhā*"[62] in *Arthaśāstra* and "*Udaka-Parikhā*"[63] in the *Jātakas*. The second and third types of the moat have been known in the Buddhist literature as "*Kaddama-parikhā*"[64] and "*Sukkha-Parikhā*"[65] respectively.

The earth which was laid bare by digging the moat, was amassed by its side at some distance and thus a huge mound was built. This mound has been known as "*Vapra*" in the *Aparājitapṛechā*.[66A] The city-wall known as "*Prakāra*" was constructed on this mound. *Aparājitapṛechā* says that the city-wall should be elevated to a height of nine *hastas* (18 feet) for increasing its defensive value.[66B] The city-wall was set with towers which have been known as "*Aṭṭālaka*"[67] and "*Mahāśṛṅga*"[68] in this work. It was also to be possessed of main (*Gopura*)

56. "अनीय कीलकं सूत्रं रोपयेच्च चतुर्दिशम्" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
59. *Pāṇini-kālīna-Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 142.
60. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 51.
61. "एवं संशोध्य परिरवात्रितयं परितोऽशभिः" *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, I, p. 40.
62. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 51 (Śāstrī).
63. *Pāṇini-Kālina-Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 144.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
66A. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 191.
66B. "प्राकार उत्तमः कार्यो नवहस्तैः समुच्छ्रितः" *Ibid.*, p. 178.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

and subsidiary gates (*Pratolī*). These entrances were closed and opened by thick planks (कपाटाः सर्वद्वारेषु).[69] On the top of the city-wall were to be accumulated destructive weapons (*Mahāyantra*) ; such as the *Bhairavayantra, Bhāskarayantra, Mahiṣāsurayantra* and *Vārāhayantra.*[70] The author of this work says that due to these weapons, the city-wall becomes impregnable.[71] *Arthaśāstra*[72] and *Mahābhārata*[73] enumerate several weapons which were to be piled up on the upper surface of the city-wall.

The construction of the moat and the wall, determined the shape of the city. *Aparājitapṛechā* recommends six shapes of the town namely : (1) *Vṛtta* (circular), (2) *Vṛttāyata* (figure resembling an ellipse), (3) *Swastika*, (4) *Yavākṛti* (looking like a drum), (5) *Dīrgha* (rectangular) and (6) *Caturasra* (having the shape of equilateral rectangle).[74] According to this work, the cities which have these figures, bring great prosperity to the people and make them fearless.[75] These shapes have been recommended by some other work also, *e.g.* in *Yuktikalpataru* which was composed only a century earlier, the " *Caturasra* " town has been looked with great favour.[76] *Aparājitapṛechā* rejects the following shapes of the town :— (1) *Vajra* (figure resembling with *octagon*), (2) *Triśūlākṛti* (trident) and (3) *Trikoṇākhya* (triangular).[77A] According to this work, the *octagonal* city brings about an enormous loss to the

69. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
71. " एभिर्यन्त्रैः समायुक्तं प्राकारं भीमरूपकम् " *Ibid.*, p. 181.
72. "तासु पाषाणकुद्दालकुठारीकाण्डकल्पनाः ।
मुसृष्ठिमुग्दारादण्डचक्रयंत्रशतघ्नयः ॥
कार्या कार्यारिकाश्शूला वेधनाग्राश्चवेणकः ।
उष्ट्रग्रीव्याऽग्निसंयोगाः कुप्यकुल्पे च योऽवधिः॥ " *Arthaśāstra* (Jolly), vol. I, p. 33
73. "विविधैरपि निर्विद्धैः शस्त्रोपेतैः सुसंवरतैः ।
शक्तिभिश्चावृतं विद्धि द्विजिह्वैरिव पन्नगैः ॥
तत्पैश्चाभ्यसिकैर्युक्तं शुशुभे योधरक्षितम् ।
तीक्ष्णांकुशशतघ्नीभिर्यन्त्राजालैश्च शोभितम् ॥
आयासैश्च महाचक्रे शुशुभे तत्पुरोत्तमम् ॥"
Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch. 227, V. 63-64½
74. *Aparājitapṛechā*, pp. 180-81.
75. " वृद्धिदं पार्श्वदण्डं च श्रीपदं श्रीपुरं तथा ।
रिपुमर्द्दनं रिप्वक्तं स्वाहं चैवामयप्रदम् ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 181.
76. " चतुरस्रं चतुर्वर्गं (?) फलाय पृथिवीपते " *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 28.
77A. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 182.

citizens[77B] and in the trident town, there was a constant fear of war.[78] In *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* also, which was composed a little earlier, the octagonal city is condemned on the ground that it causes famine, disease and great distress amongst the citizens.[79]

Inside the city, several roads were constructed in order to avoid congestion over them. The author of *Aparājitapṛechā* recommends the construction of nine roads in the town.[80] The houses of the members of the four castes were to be allocated in the different parts of the city. In this work the houses of the Brāhmaṇas have been located in the east and those of the Kṣatriyas in the south. The houses of the Śūdras, according to this work, should be apportioned in the north and those of the Vaiśyas in the centre.[81] The different industrialists like goldsmiths, perfume-dealers and ivory-workers were to be placed in the different localities.[82] This seems to bear a relation to the localization of industries which is emphasized in all the works where the subject of site-distribution is also undertaken. *Aparājitapṛechā* favours the inhabitation of the members of all the four castes because it is conducive to the happiness of the citizens in general.[83] Like *Arthaśāstra*[84] and *Sukranītisāra*[85], it also advises the construction of the royal palace in the centre. It places the sellers of betel, fruits, flowers and garlands either in the vicinity of the palace or in the populous localities for the benefit of their sale.[86] The temples of the gods were to be built near the squares of the city (बस्थानिचत्वरे).[87]

77B. "वज्रकृति पुरे यत्र वज्रपातस्तदोद्भवेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

78. "त्रिशूले च पुरे चैव सदा युद्धं समुद्भवेत्" *Ibid.*, p. 182.

79. "व्रजन्ति प्राणिनो नाशं क्षुद्रव्याधिपरिपीडिताः"
Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, p. 44.

80. "नवमार्गकृता संख्या निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा"
Aparājitapṛcchā, p. 172.

81. "ब्राह्मणाः पूर्ववास्तव्याः क्षत्रियाश्चैव दक्षिणे ।
प्रशस्ताश्चोत्तरे क्षूद्राः वैश्या मध्ये च संकुलाः ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 179.

82. *Ibid.* page 179.

83. "चतुर्वर्णांश्च प्रकृतीरेकैकेषु पुरेषु च ।
सर्वत्र वासयेच्च नाश्च सुखावद ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 179.

84. Arthaśāstra, p. 55 (Śāstrī).

85. *Śukranītisāra*, Ch. 1, p. 434.

86. "ताम्बूलफलसंकीर्णं पुष्पमालादिसंकुलम् ।
राजद्वाराग्रतश्चैव यतः स्याच्च जनाकुलम् ॥" *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 179.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

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From the above it is clear that *Aparājitapṛechā* of Bhuvanadeva is helpful to a large extent in understanding the various aspects of city-architecture as practised in ancient India. It bears testimony to the fact that the cities which thrived in this land were not a result of an accidental or irregular growth, but erected in accordance with well-considered schemes. This work undoubtedly reflects the engineering skill and the architectural technique of the ancient builders and also agrees on several points with *Yukti-kalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra* which supply to us much information about the planning of the cities in ancient India.

THE ROUTE OF THE FIRST HŪṆA INVASION

PROFESSOR JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

IN my article on the Early History of the Maitrakas published in the *Indian Culture*, Volume V, I had suggested that the reason for Skandagupta giving so anxious thought to the administrative arrangements in Surāṣṭra was most probably the threat of a foreign invasion. I had further suggested that the only foreign invaders about this time could have been the Hūṇa hordes against whom Skandagupta had put up such a heroic defence, and had succeeded in warding off the attack. Surāṣṭra could have been the first province of Skandagupta's Empire to be exposed to the Hūṇa aggression only in case the Hūṇas were pouring into India through the Bolan pass.

I can now put forth some geographical and epigraphic evidence which seems to confirm the view that the first Hūṇa invasion had taken place through the Bolan pass, near Quetta.

Arab historians and geographers refer to a country named Zabulistan.

According to Le Strange, 'the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmand and the Kandhar (*i.e.* Arghandab) rivers was known to the Arabs as Zabulistan, a term of vague application.'[1]

Now it is to be investigated as to why this part of present day Afghanistan is called Zabulistan? Obviously it means the land of the Zabuls. Who are these Zabuls?

The answer to this question is suggested by some Indian epigraphs and coins. In the Khewra Inscription[2] of Toramāṇa, he is styled as Ṣāhi Jaūbla. On the Horseman and Sassanian types of the Silver Coins of Toramāṇa, we again find this title in the variant forms Jaubla,

1. La Srange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 349.
2. Ed. George Bulhar, *EI*, vol. I, pp. 289 ff.

Jabūbla and Jabula.[3] The title occurs on other Ephthalite coins in the Persianised form Zabol.[4]

Mr. A. D. H. Bivar has recently published two short inscriptions from Uruzagan, situated ' about midway between the upper waters of the Rivers Helmand and Arghandab in Central Afghanistan.'[5] The inscriptions are in Hepthalite Greek Script, and read as follows :—

1. BOO SSaho Zooloo mihroziki
2. BO OSSoho zoolonihrooo.

' The divine and glorious King of Zabul, Mihira (kula).

The following observation of Mr. Bivar is worth noting :—

" Returning to the phrase Saho Zooolovo, one is struck by the similarity of the formula to one frequently encountered on Hepthalite coins and inscriptions, Saho Zobol or Saho Jabula (many other variants are also found). Certainly this was the official title of the dynasty which included Toramāṇa and Mihirakula."[6]

Since the word Jaūbla or its variants occurs with the names of Toramāṇa, Miharakula and on other Ephthalite coins, it is obviously ' a tribal and not a personal title '. It would thus appear that a section of the Hūṇas was called Jaūvla or Zabol, and the land in which they first settled on their way to India came to be called Zabulistan, just as Seistan derives its name from the fact that the Śakas first settled there.

From the geographical situation of Zabulistan which must be regarded as an early settlement of the Hūṇas to the south of Hindukush—it can be easily inferred that they entered India by the Bolan Pass near Quetta, since that was the nearest road to India. It is true that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula occupied the whole of the Panjab and North West Frontier Province ; but that is subsequent to the first invasion in which they had been unsuccessful having been repulsed by Skandagupta —the unique hero of the Gupta lineage.

3. See Smith, V. A., " History and Coinage of the Gupta Period," *JASB*, 1894 pp. 185 ff. ; Cunningham A, *The Indian Coinage of the Ephthalites, Transactions of Nineth Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, pp. 235 ff.
4. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 276-8.
5. *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 112 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, I p. 115.

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INDO-TIBETAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE PRE-ATISA PERIOD

PROFESSOR SUNITIKUMAR PATHAK

INDIA and Tibet are the two neighbouring countries, separated by the lofty snow walls of the Himalayas. But the high range of the snowy mountain cannot resist the human urge of mutual contact. Through the ages the peoples of the two countries met one another for the political, commercial or cultural exchange. Even now the Tibetans feel proud to consider that they belong to the descendants of some Indian origin. Since the old old days of myths and legends Indo-Tibetan relationship exists. Historically, however, the contact between India and Tibet started from somewhat the early seventh century A.D. So the present study of the Indo-Tibetan relationship may be divided into three sections; namely (1) Early traditional accounts, (2) Political conflict from the seventh century downwards, (3) Cultural contact since Thonmi Sam bhoṭa to Atīsha Dipaṅkara.

Regarding the early account of Tibet profuse materials and reliable sources are not available to us. The present study would historically cover five hundred years from the 7th century to the 11th century A.D. Necessarily, the Tibetan historical texts like *Padma bka' thaṅ yig, Mani bka' 'bum* would give the vivid description of the contemporary relations as they were composed in Tibet during this long period. Afterwards the works like *Bu-stongyi Chos 'byuṅ, Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ, Gos lo tsa ba'i Deb ther Sṅon po, Tāranātha Ryi Rgya gar Chos 'byuṅ, Ye śes dpal 'byorgyi Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ* give some more matter regarding the Indo-Tibetan relationship. But, among so many works, the few have come down to us in original or in translation. So it is really a problem to do proper justice to the subject. Fortunately, the Chinese records *like Chiu T'ang shu, Shin T'ang shu, Wen hsien tse's report* give more definite facts from the historical point of view.

I. *Early Traditional Accounts*

According to Bu-ston and Gos la tsa bai Ye śes dpal'byor, a belief was that *Saṅs rgyas* (Buddha) had visited Tibet on several (seven) occasions, and during his first visit to Tibet, the land Tibet was under water.[1] Afterwards due to His grace there had appeared some dense forest in which Ārya Avalokiteśvara and Āryā Tārā being incarnated as a monkey and a rock fiendess (or female Yaksi) lived there. And, it is said that, from them the people of Tibet came into existence.

And, a belief is mentioned that a king named *Rupati*, who was narrated as one of the participants in the Mahābhārata war in India, entered into Tibet with a large number of followers in disguise of women. Gos lo tsa ba refers to the opinion of *Prajñāvarman* (*Śes rab go-cha*) who stated that the line of Rupati nowadays are known as Bod.

Also, a prevalent story as it is said to be mentioned in the *Bka' chams* of *Sroṅ-btsan sgam po* referred by Sumpa mkhan po, the author of Dpog bsam ljon bzaṅ, named *Śatasena* (*dmag brgya*) (?) was thrown into the Ganges in early life and he, being developed, had crossed the Himalayas. When he had appeared in Tibet he was quite a stranger. The local inhabitants of Tibet, finding a new man, owing to curiosity asked him his native place. The stranger showed him the sky with his finger. The local people considered that he was sent from the heaven. And, they placed him on their shoulder and he was designated as *Gña Khri btsan po*. The hero of this legendary story described as the fifth descendant of Prasenjita of kaśala or a feeble descendant of Bimbisara of Magadha. Gos lot śa pa refers to the 23rd chapter of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and remarks : In this chapter of the Mañjuśrīmulakalpa, it is said that, (he) appeared in the Licchavi race. Thus it is correct to state that the kings of Tibet belonged to the Licchavi race.[2] This reference mentioned in the Tibetan text gives the opportunity for developing the theory that kings of Tibet and those of Ladakh are the offshoots of Nepal branch of Licchavis. Sumpa mkhan po in his Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ also followed this. MM. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushana holds the opinion that Licchavis of Vaisali and Licchavis of Nepal may have some relations with Tibetan.[3]

But Dr. Roerich, comments against the assumption of Gos lo tsa ba and he mentions that the Tibetan lo-tsa-ba had misunderstood the passages of the Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa. Gos lo-tsa-ba wrongly interpreted

1. *Dpag. bsam..*p. 174f.
2. *Blue Annals*, vol. I, p. 34.
3. *JASB*, 1902 pp. 142-48.
   See, *IA*, vol. XXXVII, p. 79.

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Lha-ldan (devavana) for *Lha-sa*, and, *Mi'i lha* (Mānavadeva) for *Sron btsan sgam po*. However, all these traditional stories and beliefs have least historical facts. Still, it is quite fanciful that the Tibetans, particularly the Buddhist people, consider themselves superior to other neighbouring people when they imagine their blood relationship with Indian origin. In this connection Sumpa mkhan po in the Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ expresses his view that the stories of existence of water in Tibet during the life-time of Buddha and those of Rupati etc. are questionable from the historical point of view. It may be safely remarked that Tibet was geographically as old as her neighbouring countries like India, China, Nepal and Mongolia, and the Tibetans are the decendants of Indian and *Hor* (Mongolian) people.[4]

Indian sources, as mentioned in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa describe Tibet as " Cīna."[5] The Tārā Tantra refers to ' Mahā-Cīna ' and ' Cina ' where Tārādevi was worshipped.[6] In the Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa, China is described as the border land of Nepal, and, as explained by Dr. Joyswal, the people of Tibet were known as Mlecchas. In the Mahābhārata (*Satrunjoya Māhātmya*) as referred by M. Williams and in the Rājataraṅgiṇī the name of *Bhoṭa* (*Bhauṭṭa*) is found. India had probably the woollen trade with ' China ' (Tibet) as the Mahābhārata refers. But we find no mention of the arrival of Tibetans at India during the Mahābhārata war. The races which join in the war were Yavanaa, Śaka' Khaśa ' Tuṣāra ' ' Darad."[7]

Most probably there was a trade route for carrying woollen and silk goods from China through Yunan and Kāmarūpa in the Eastern side, and, on the west, there was a route for connecting India and Tibet through Ladakh. During the eighth century it is found that Śāntá Rakshit and Padmasambhav went to Tibet through Nepal. We do not know by what route Thon mi sambhotá (in the 7th century A.D.) had appeared in India. So it is found that there were three important routes through which India and Tibet made their earlier contact. There was a route from Nepal to the Northern upland through Man yul on the borders of Nepal in the *Gtsan* Province near *Bsam yas*. The Padma bka' thaṅ yig narrates the route on which Padmasambhava went

4. *Dpag bsam*, p. 176.
5. *Imperial History of India*, pp. 22 f; *Mañjusrimulakalpa*, 28. 559-586.
6. *Bauddhadeśa, tharvaveda,*
Mahācine sada vraja /
tatrā gatvā Mahābhavam vilokya
matpadāmbujam // 17.19.
Jagāma chīna bhuman ca yatra
Buddha pratiṣṭhitaḥ
Punaḥ punaḥ praṇamyābau vaśiṭha
kshitimaṇḍale //
7. *JRAS* 1908, pp. 309 ; see, *Mbh*, v, 590, 7609; vi, 753, 2097, 3865 (Poona Edn.)

towards Tibet.[8] From the Chinese source, we get the vivid narration of the routes from India to China through Tibet and trans-Himalayan regions. Dr. Levi also mentions the existence of five routes between India and Tibet during the 8th century A.D.[9]

Leaving apart the legendary period of Tibetan history, we cannot safely rely on the royal chronicles of Tibet which in most cases like Indian Purāṇas mention the names only, and state the incidents in the fashion of a tale without caring least for their historical importance. Fortunately, however, we have the Chinese records which mentioned dates particularly Sino-Tibetan contact with reference to the royal history of Tibet.

II Political Conflict

The Tibetan chronicles mention the name of *Lha tha tho ri gnam btsan*, the fourth ruler of the *btsan* clan, who may be contemporary with the Chinese rulers of northern *Chou* dynasty. He is mentioned by Sumpa Mkhan po as an energetic ruler. Prior to *Lha tha tho ri gnam btsan* the mention of the royal names may have little historical value, as Dr. Petech considers.[10] *Ma tua Lin* in *Wen hsien tung kao* mentions that a (*Si-fan* Western Barbarous) Tibetan king showed his loyalty to the ruler *Yang-ti* (602 A.D.) of Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.). This mention helps to conceive that probably during the last decade of the sixth century A.D. the Tibetans were able to form a confederate state and to draw the attention of the then Chinese rulers as a neighbouring kingdom.[11]

Dr. Levi's mention of a victorious campaign of a Tibetan ruler named *Sroṅ btsan*, prior to the famous king *Sroṅ btsan Sgam po*, into Central India finds no confirmation from the Tibetan sources which have come down to us. According to the Dpag bsam ljon bzan the king *Sroṅ btsan* is known as the founder of the ' *bum gdug* palace, and during his rule the practice of medical science spread in Tibet.

Later on, the ascension of king Sroṅ btsan Sgam po on the throne of Tibet made an epoch in developing Indo-Tibetan contact. During this time, as the Chinese records mention, the Chinese could not undertake any aggressive measure, as several powerful rulers like Śasāṅka of Gauda, Harsha of Kaunauj and Bhāskara-Varman of Kāmarupa were in power in the Northern India. Pilgrims and missions flock from China and Tibet to India in search of cultural cream of humanity. But just after the death of Harshabardhana it is seen that the Chinese army

8. Evans Wanz, *Life of Padmasambhava (Guru rim po che'i rnam thār)*
9. *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 174 f.
10. *Studies on the Chronicles of Ladakh.*
11. *IA*, 1882, pp. 19 f.

with the help of the Tibetan and Nepali armies and with the connivance of Bhāskara-Varman of Kāmarūpa, a reactionary measure was undertaken against Arjuna a ruler of Tirabhukti.[12] The occurrence happened during the last days of Sroṅ btsan Sgam po (650 A.D.). But no Tibetan record mentions these stories of their glorious victory. *T'ang Annals* mentions that Nepal and India have broken the yoke of Tibetan rulers in the beginning of the eighth century. It shows a long suzerainty over Nepal and India was in existence. But just after the death of *Sroṅ btsan Sgam po* (650 A.D.) Tibet faced an attack from the '*T'ang* rulers of China. According to Dr. Levi it is said that the Tibetan ruler Ki li pa pu spread his campaign from China in the east to Central India in the south. But no mention is found in Tibetan Annals. Probably the political relation between India and Tibet was not in favour, as Dr. Levi refers.

During the later period of the reign of *Dus Sron man po* Tibet faced a severe attack from Chinese queen Wu tse t'ien, and from Nepalese ruler and a Central Indian ruler, as Gos lo tsa bai nforms. From the mentions found in the Rajatarangini it is known that Lalitāditya Muktāpida[13] of Kashmira, a contemporary Indian ruler of Tibetan king *kri lde gtsug btsan*, (705-755 A.D.), the son and successor of *Dus sroṅ*, struggled against Tibetan rulers in conjunction with the then ruler of Central India. Tāranāth mentions that the kingdom of *Pañcama Sinha* spread from Tibet in the north to Benaras and Trilinga in the south.[14]

During the reign of *Khri sron lde btsan* (755-780 A.D.) the influence of ministers like *Mazaṅ* and others were so powerful that the king himself was frightened to establish any good relationship with Buddhist India. The hostilities which were then prevalent between the two countries continued until the king Ral pa Can (836 A.D.) ascended the throne of Tibet. According to the Ladaki chronicles *Kri sroṅ lde btsan* subdued China in the east and India in the south. In conquerring the Chinese the Tibetans had less credit as the *Kharluks* and *Arabs* on the one hand and *An Lu-shàn* on the other, simultaneously rose against the Chinese kings. From the Padma bka' than yig it is known that the Tibetans made a forced entrance inside India during the reign of Khri sroṅ lde btsan, a Tibetan ruler contemporary of Dharmapala of Bengal, but no Indian source confirms the above statement.

Dr. R. C. Mazumdar assumes some probability of Tibetan entrance within the boundaries of Bengal during this period, as political disintegration and moral disruption was then pervalent throughout northern India.[15].

12. *JASB*, vol. VI, p. 69; *IA*, vol. IX, p. 20, *IHQ*, vol. III, p. 792.
13. *Rajataraṅgini*, vol IV, p. 168.
14. *Rgya. gar chos 'hyuṅ*, pp. 146, 158.
15. *History of Bengal*, vol. I.

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III. Contural Contact

The Rajtarangini relates that *Meghavāhana* of *Gonanda* dynasty was inclined to Buddhism and a Guru of his wife Amritaprobha's father from Assam appears during that time. He is said to be a Tibetan monk of *Lho phyogs* (Lo—southern Tibet).[16] The miraculous appearance of the Indian Buddhist scriptures *Za ma tog bkod* (Karaṇḍavyuha) and *Skan pyog brgya* (J.C. No. 267) during the time of La tho tho ri gnam btsan has little historical importance.

Under the patronage of this king sixteen Tibetan scholars along with the minister *Thon mi sambhota*, son of *Anu*, arrived in India for the study of Buddhism directly under the Indian teachers. This may be recognised as the first cultural contact between India and Tibet. *Sambhota*, after going back to his own country, revised the Tibetan scripts, *dbu can or mgo can* (the characters with heads for ornamental writing), after the Indian models (*la ntsa dan kha che'i yig gzugs*—Lancha and Kaśmirian scripts). He also introduced, as Sumpa has it, was tu scripts, *dbu med* (the headless characters for running hand). He prepared two Tibetan grammatical treatises in the manner of Indian grammatical works and translated several Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Bu ston mentions that from southern India (the statue of) the eleven faced Avalokiteśvara of the finest sandal-wood and twelve Buddhist temples were erected on the pattern of Indian temples and monasteries.[17]

After the death of the king Sron *btsan sgam po*, Indo-Tibetan relationship received a set-back for half a century. Afterwards according to the advice of Budhisatva (Śāntā-Rakshita) the famous scholar Padmasambhava was invited. Several scholars from India (specially from Nalanda) and Kaśmira like Dānaśila, Jinamitra of Kaśmīra, Dharmakīrti, Vimalamitra, Buddhagyhya, Śantigarbha, etc. were invited to Tibet. Under the directions of Padmasambhava the famous *Sam yas* monastery was built after the model of Odentapuri of India.[18]

After the death of Khri sron ide'u btsan Indo-Tibetan cultural relationship again received a set-back until *Ral pa can*, one of the most sincere patrons of Buddhism in Tibet, ascended the throne in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He spared no pains even at the risk of his life for the propagation of the faith to which he himself was probably converted. During this time Aparantaka teachers Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Silendrabodhi, Bodhimitra went to Tibet for the development of Indian ideas and thoughts in Tibet. After the assassi-

16. *Rajatarangiṇī*, vol. I, p. 312.
17. *Bu-ston* (Obermith's translation, II) pp. 188f; *Blue Annals*, vol. I, p. 88.
18. *Pag bscm Gon bran*, p. 170.

nation of *Ral pa can* Indo-Tibetan relationship faced another set-back for a long time until Atisha Dipañkara went to Tibet for the re-orientation of the mutual freindship between the two countries.

In the middle of the 11th century the king Khar do (ye śes 'od) attempted to spread Buddhism and sent 21 young men of Tibet to India for studying Buddhism. Among them with a good record *Rin chen bzaṅ po* and *Leg a'i śes rab* returned to Tibet. *Rin chan bzaṅ po* visited Kasmira and Magadha. According to direction of the king Ye śes ' od he invited a large number of eminent Indian scholars.[19] Among those, Sraddhakaravarman Padmakara Gupta, Dipañkara Srijñana and Subhāsita may be mentioned. In Tibet, Atisa was much pained to find Buddhism there in somewhat degraded condition. With the help of his associates he reclaimed the degenerated faith by means of metaphysical interpretation and devout practices of Indian yoga and by the Tibetan rendering of a good many important Buddhist texts. All these activities of Atisa, particularly his attempts at throwing a new light on the interpretations of Indian truth, were acclaimed by the Tibetans and brought about an epoch-making renaissance of Tibetan life and of their culture.

19. *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Obermiths translation of Bu-ston's Rgya gar's Chos 'hyein), pp. 212 f.

VARṆĀŚRAMAVYAVASTHĀ IN THE AGE OF HARṢA

PROFESSOR BAIJNATH SHARMA

POLITICALLY speaking, the age of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.) cannot be considered of great importance as we find that Harṣa did not succeed in establishing the paramount sovereignty over an enduring empire; but his achievement in founding the most powerful kingdom in Northern India at a critical moment in Indian History has won for him much honour and glory. Moreover, his claim to rememberance is due to his remarkable personality as an author and a generous patron of art and learning, a benevolent ruler, a man of high and lofty ideals and above all a true representative of Indian ideal of sacrifice and cosmopolitan enlightenment.

But from the social and cultural point of view the age of Harṣa is of epoch-making importance in more than one way. It marks the brilliant end of a period which we designate as the ancient period of Indian History. During his age we find that the revival of Brāhmaṇism which had taken place under the Imperial Guptas, attained perfection. The age of Harṣa is remarkably noted for the complete ascendancy of the Varṇāśramadharma, a significant synonym for Hinduism and a basic factor in the systematization of the Hindu society. The study of the vedas was given a new impetus and all the Vedic Ceremonies and rituals came to be regarded as inseparable and integral constituents of Brahmaṇism. People practised them with sincere devotion and earnestness.

All the epigraphic evidences that have been discovered so far provide solid foundations on which Varṇāśramadharma was founded. Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākaravardhana is said to be "the strong supporter of Varṇāśrama order."[1] It is in accordance with the rules laid down by the writers on social institutions. It was regarded as one of the main duties of a Hindu monarch to look after the observance of the duties and obligations of the people according to

1. In all three records this epithet is assigned to Prabhākarvardhana. Sonapat Copper Seal—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, pp. 231-232; Banskhera Plate.—*EI*, vol. IV, pp. 208-11; and Madhuban grant—*EI*, vol. I, p. 168.

laws of Varṇas and Āśramas. He was never expected to allow people to swerve from their duties.[2]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chawng; who visited India and stayed here for fifteen years, made on-the-spot survey. He writes "There are four orders of hereditary class distinctions." These four orders consisted of Brahmans, or purely living; the Ksatriyas, the race of the kings; the Vaiśyas or a class of traders and the Śūdras.[3]

Baṇa in his Harṣacharita characterises Harṣa as one who carried out all the rules for the Varṇas and the Āśramas like Manu.[4] While speaking about the life and prosperity of the land of Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada, he says that the laws of Varṇas were for ever unconfounded.[5] Likewise we find throughout the pages of Bāṇa's works,[6] Harṣa's dramas and works of his other contemporaries the picture of society which was definitely divided into four Varṇas.

The Brhāhmaṇas enjoyed a very privileged position in the society and gained complete ascendancy. They were the most exalted citizens among all. This period is marked with two main currents. Firstly the glorification of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas by other three Varṇas became a distinct feature of Hinduism. This was largely the contribution of this period.[7] By gifts Manu unequivocally means gifts to Brāhmaṇas. He says that it was the supreme duty of man in the Kali age.[8] Almost all inscriptions and literary works of this period testify to the fact that this was not a mere wish of the Brāhmaṇas but a living reality acted upon by contemporary men and women.[9] The feeding of the Brāhmaṇas was one of the acknowledged ways of gaining purity and religious merits.[10] They performed the Svastivāchana[11] rite and

2. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (tr. R. Shamasastry), Book I. Chap. III. fourth Ed. 1951. Mysore, p. 7.

3. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, (by Thomas Watters, and Ed. after his death, by T. W. Rhys Davids. London 1905), vol. I, p. 168.

4. *Harşacharita of Bāṇa*, (tr. E.B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. London 1897), p. 66 (*Manāviva-Kartiari Varṇāśramavyavasthānām*; *Harşacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, (Ed. P. V. Kane, First Ed. Bombay 1918), Canto 2, p. 86.

5. *Harşacharita of Bāṇa* p. 79. (*Satatasaṅkīrṇa Varṇavyavahārasthihiḥ.*) *The Harşacharita by Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Can. 8, p. 42.

6. *Harşacharita* and *Kādambarī* are the two popularly known works of Bāṇa. Besides them *Pārvatīpariṇaya Chaṇḍīśataka* and *Mukuṭataḍitakā* are also attributed to him.

7. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, 1950, pp. 91-2.

8. *Manu Smṛiti*, I, p. 86.

9. R. R. Bhaṅdarkar, *A Peep into the Early History, of India*, p. 58. Also see *Studies in Vatsayana Kāma Sutra*, Chaklader, pp. 98-9.

10. The *Harşacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 164.

11. *Svastivāchana* denotes the enchantment of benedictory hymns by Brahmanas at religious ceremonies and rites. The Brahmanas got gifts and other complimentary presents on such occasions. Monier William's *Dictionary*, p. 1283.

received gifts.[12] They received both gifts and respect at royal courts.[13] Bāṇa, who himself was a Brāhmaṇa, frankly says that it was hard to find a Brāhmaṇa without greed.[14] Harṣa bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas a hundred villages, delimited by a thousand ploughs on the eve of his departure for Digvijaya.[15] All the belongings of the deceased king Prabhākaravardhana were given to Brāhmaṇas,[16] the latter also consumed the departed spirit's first oblation.[17] Besides Harṣa's two grants, all other grants of this period were issued to Brāhmaṇas. All important ceremonies beginning from the cradle to the grave were performed by a purohit who received gifts and donations. Bāṇa's works provide us with a number of instances of these ceremonial rites.

Another noteworthy development of this period is the growth of belief in hell as places of fortune and punishment for sins and the progressive application of the doctrine of rebirth. Bāṇa gives a vivid description of these beliefs while describing the sickness and death of Prabhākaravardhana in the fifth chapter of Harṣacharita.[18] Penances were common for specific breaches of sacred rules which are laid down in the Smṛitis. The faith in penances naturally enhanced the importance of the Brāhmaṇas who alone were worthy of conducting various types of penances and worship. Their social status was based on their learning and religious life. All the sources of this period lead us to the conclusion that the supremacy of Brāhmaṇas was based on their learning and right conduct. To Yuan Chwang they were "purely living" people.[19] We are told by the Chinese pilgrim, "They keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity."[20] At another place he writes, "Among the various castes and classes of the country the Brāhmaṇas were the purest" and they were "highly esteemed." So from their excellent reputation the name "Brāhmaṇa-country (P'o-lo-mên-Kuo) had come to be a popular one for India."[21] The Brāhmaṇas were highly learned. Yuan Chwang met one Brāhmana who was

12. *Priyadarśikā of Harṣa* (ed. and tr. by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden. Columbia University. Series, 1923), Act II, p. 21; *Ratnāvali*, Act 2; The *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa* (tr. E. B. Cowell and E. W. Thomas), p. 65; *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, canto 2, p. 85.

13. *Kadambarī of Bāṇa*, (tr. by C. M. Ridding, London, 1896), p. 55.

14. The *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 171-72, *Dvijātiraneṣaṇaḥ jagati durlabhaḥ. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 6, p. 40.

15. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 199.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 164. *Diyamāna Dvijebhayaḥ śayanāsanachāmarātapatrāmatrapatra-śastrādike nṛipanikaṭopakaraṇakalāpe.* The *Harṣacharita by Bāṇabhatta*, Canto 6, p. 86.

17. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 164: *Prathamapretapiṇḍabhuji dvijanmāni. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 6, p. 86.

18. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 135-60. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, pp. 19-36.

19. Watters, 168.

20. *Ibid.*, 168.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 140. This name was a foreign designation and used specialy by the Chinese. For Watter's remark—see p. 140.

"Superabundant in reasoning and eminent in Vedas and other Śāstras."[22] With this account in view Bāṇa[23] cannot be said to exaggerate when he uses the epithet "Brahmamukhaḥ" *i.e.* for Brāhmaṇas who had the Vedas on their lips.[24] For Brāhmaṇas it was necessary to learn Vedic hymns by heart. In the Nāgānaṇdaṃ Vidūśaka is asked by Cheṭī to repeat the Vedic hymns to prove his Brāhmaṇhood[25] In the Priya-darśikā the king says to the Jester that the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa are known by a number of his Vedas.[26] Sometimes the Brāhmaṇas were known after the particular Veda on which they had the authority. The Bāṇskherā grant was issued to Bhaṭṭa Bālachaṇdra and Bhaṭṭa Bhadra-swāmī. The former was a Ṛigvedin Brāhmaṇa while the latter was a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa.[27] Such epithets are also assigned to the donees of Madhuban grant.[28] They most probably denote their authoritative knowledge on the respective Vedas. The faces of the cousins of Bāṇa were made pure by the study of the Vedas.[29] He informs us that after Prabhākaravardhana's death Harṣa was closely attended by old Brāhmaṇs who were well-versed in Śruti, Smṛiti and Itihāsa.

The Brāhmaṇas were the teachers and preceptors of the people. The houses of Bāṇa's kinsmen are described to have been filled with the students and disciples who were making noise by continual recitations. In the opening paragraphs of the second canto of the Harṣacharita Bāṇa gives a beautiful description of the houses of his kinsmen. They (houses) were "resonant with the noise of continual recitations, filled with young students attracted by the sacrifices." There were great terraces in front of the doors which were green with the heaps of Soma plants. They were filled with the rice and panicum for the sacrificial cakes laid out to be dried, scattered on the skins of the black antelope. There was an abundance of fuel (for Homa), leaves and bundles of green Kuṣa-grass, brought by hundreds of pure disciples. Oblations of rice were offered by young maidens. There were heaps of cowdung and fuel which covered their terraces in their courts marked by the round hoofs of the cows. A large number of ascetics were busy in pounding the clay for making pots (Kamaṇḍalas). Altars were made for sacrificial

22. *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, by Shaman Huwi li, (with an introduction, etc. by Samuel Beal. London. 1914), pp. 74-75.

23. *The Harṣacharita of Baṇa*, p. 11 : *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Cap. IV, p. 7.

24. Here '*Brahmamukhaḥ* punningly used. It has two senses : (1) *Brahmā vedaḥ mukhe yeṣāṁ i.e.* who had the Vedas on their lips. (2) *Brahmā mukhaṁ yeṣāṁ i.e.* who had god Brahmā on their heads. Kene's notes, p. 185 ; Cowell and Thomas, p. 111 footnote. The former sense has been accepted as proper application. M. Williams, however, gives a different meaning, p. 789.

25. *Nāgānaṅda* (Ed. and tr. Sadhuram), Act 3, pp. 82-83.

26. *Priyadarshikā of Harṣa*, (Columbia University Series), p. 210.

27. *EI*, vol. IV, pp. 208-211.

28. 9. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

29. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 78. *Vedabhyāsapavitramūrtyaḥ*. Kane, Canto 3, p. 89.

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fires, with the ground white with the lines of offerings to the Devaḥ. There were young spotted goats which were brought for the purpose of sacrificies.[30]

The Brāhamaṇas put on Yajñopavīta or Brahma-Sūtra. Brahma-sūtra was also put on by Brāhmaṇa females. While describing the costume of Sarasvatī Bāṇa says that her body was purified by Brahmasūtra.[31] This adjective is also given to Mahāśvetā. In Harṣacharita we are told that respect was due even to the Brāhmaṇas by birth merely and uninitiated by ceremonies.[32] Prince Chandrapīḍa was advised to pay respect to the Brāhmaṇas and the former honoured the latter.[33]

The second Varṇa was that of the Kṣatriyas.[34] According to Yuan Chwang this class formed "the race of Kings" and " has held sovereignty for many generations." At the same time they were benevolent and merciful.[35] This statement of Yuan Chwang is only 'tolerably' correct, for we have proofs from his own pen to contradict him. He says that Harṣa was Vaiśya ;[36] the king of Matipur[37] was śūdra and the king of Assam[38] (Kāmrūp) was Brāhmaṇa and the " sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 100 generations." Moreover, it was not possible for the entire community of the kṣatriyas to have been a race of kings. In spite of these inaccuracies Yuan Chwang can be taken to be right in the sense that a majority of princes was from the Kṣatriya community. Bāṇa describes two famous races—Solar and Lunar—of the Kṣatriyas.[39] We do not find the direct indications in the Harṣacharita about the existence of these races during Harṣa's age but the inscriptions of the Post-Harṣa period help us, to a certain extent, in reaching such conclusions.

30. *The Harṣacharita of Bāna*, pp. 35-36., *tatrānavaratādhyana.....Kṛīḍatkṛiṣṇaśārachchhāgaśāvakaprakaṭitapaśubandhaprabandhāni. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 2. p. 21. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 105 ; *Nagananda by Harsa.* (Ed. and Tr. by Sadhuram, Delhi), Act. 3. P. 31.

31. *The Harṣacharita of Bāna*, p. 5. *Brahmasūtreṇapavitrīkṛitakāyā, The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto. I, p. 3.

32. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 7. *Asaṁskṛitamatyo-apijhātyaiva Dvijanamānomānanīyāḥ.*

33. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 62. *Pūjaya Dvijātīn.* KPP. 172.

34. We do not possess as much materials as we have for the study of Brāhmaṇas. Yet some light is thrown by Yuan Chwang and Bāṇa.

35. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, p. 168.

36. *Ibid.*, I., p. 343 ; *Mañjuśrimulakalpa* (C. Shastri's Ed.), pp. 626-634. For Dr. Tripathi's remark see *HK.*, p. 29-30.

37. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 322. *The life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Huwi Li*, p. 79.

38. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 186. Many other kings were also Brāhmaṇas.
Ibid., pp. 250-51.

39. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 126. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto I, p. 16. *History of Kanauj* by Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Banaras, 1937, pp. 29-30.

The Kṣatriyas and the kings respected Brāhmaṇas and gave them donations. Yuan Chwang speaks of Harṣa's charitable deed for Brāhmaṇas along with other people. The Kṣatriyas were noted for their valour, courage and heroism. The Janapada of Sthāṇīśvara was regarded as the land of heroes by the sons of swords[40] *i.e.* Kṣatriyas. The worship of arms seems to be prevalent among the heroes of the Kṣatriya community. Bāṇa informs us that Prabhākaravardhana "worshipped his sword named Attahāsa with perfumes, scents, frankincense and wreaths."[41]

The third group of people was that of the Vaiśyas or "a class of traders".[42] According to Yuan Chwang they "bartered commodities and pursued gains far and near."[43] The community of the Vaiśyas was the second most powerful class which wielded power from the very beginning of the Gupta rule. Moreover, the traders have been a powerful community throughout the ages and influenced the life of the people and political atmosphere with the might of their wealth.

The fourth class of people was that of the Śūdras. According to Yuan Chwang they were 'agriculturists'.[44] Here again our pilgrim is not accurate. The majority of the people formed the class of agriculturists and the Śūdras never formed the majority. There were no strict rules about following this occupation.[45] Yuan Chwang himself met a Brāhmaṇa who was ploughing the land.[46] The general condition of these people was not good and they were not allowed to mix with the higher Varṇas.

Yuan Chwang mentions butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers who "had their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign." They were living outside the cities and they were required to sneak along on the left when going about in hamlets.[47] Here in his description Yuan Chwang is supported by Bāṇa who informs us that the Chāṇḍāla maiden had a bamboo stick with its end jagged,

40. *The Harsacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 82. *Vīrakṣetramiti śāstropajīvibhiḥ. The Harṣacharita of Baṇabhaṭṭa*, pp. 43-44.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 91. *Sampāditagaṅdhadūpamālyādipūjaṁ Khaṅgaṁ Attahasamakarot. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 3, p. 50.

42. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 186. Many other kings were also Brāhmaṇas. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51.

43. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

44. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

45. Vātsayāyana prescribed the three approved means of subsistence for the Vaiśya, *viz.* trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture; *Studies in Vātasyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, p. 99.

46. *The life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Huwi li*, p. 78.

47. Watters vol. I, p. 147.

with which she made a stroke on the floor to rouse the attention of the king.[48] Bāṇa regards her as of Mātāṇga (Chāṇḍāla or low-born) birth and she might not be touched.[49]

Yuan Chwang and Bāna both describe the mixed and occupational groups of people. The former writes " There are also the mixed castes ; numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described."[50] Yuan Chwang is evidently very brief in his description of these mixed castes but he is supplemented by Bāṇa who draws an elaborate picture of such groups in the society.

The Institution of Āśramas[51]

The true picture of Indian life cannot be realized without the study of the four orders of life, popularly known as the Āśramas. We have numerous references about these four stages of life of an individual in the age of Harṣa.

Reference about the Āśramas in epigraphic records have been made while discussing the institution of Varṇa. Besides these, other references are made in the literature of the period under review.

The Brahmacharyāśrama : After the Upanayana ceremony the young boy was introduced into the Brahmacharyāśrama. Bāṇa gives a vivid picture of the Brahmachārīs who got education at the Gurukulas and at the houses of the learned Brāhmaṇas. We are told that the houses of the kinsmen of Bāṇa were filled with students and disciples who were making noise by continual recitation.[52] We are also sure about the Upanayana ceremony of a boy. Bāṇa informs about his own ceremony. He says that before he reached the age of fourteen he had passed through initiation (Upanayan) and other Saṁskāras, including that of Samāvartana.[53] There was a fixed code of conduct for the young students which they observed completely. The foreheads of

48. *The Kādambarī of Bāna*, p. 8.
Sādūrasthitaiva.....pāṇinā narapatiprabodhanārtham.
Kādambarī by Bāṇa. (Ed. Parab. Bombay) p. 20.

49. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa* (tr. by C. M. Ridding, London), pp. 8-9.
Mātaṅga Kuladūṣitāṁ amūriāmiva sparśavarjitāṁ.
Kādambarī by Bāṇa, p. 25.

50. Watters, vol. I., p. 168 and p. 147 for some occupational classes. which are especially mentioned.

51. The word ' *Āsrama* ' is originally derived from the Saṁskṛit root Śraṁ ' to exert oneself '; therefore, it may mean by derivation : (1) a place where exertions are performed and (2) the way of performing such exertions. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* On ' *Āśrama* ' by P. Deussen.

52. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 85. *Anavaratādhyanadhvanimukharāṇi.* Kane. Canto. I, p. 21.

53. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 82. *Kṛitopanayanādikriyākalāpasyasamāvṛittasya.* Kane. Canto. I, p. 19.

these students were white with sectarian marks made of ashes.[54] They possessed the fuel, leaves and bundles of green Kuśa-grass.[55] We have a beautiful description of a youthful ascetic Puṇḍarīka who is described by Bāṇa with his locks (piṅgalajaṭāṁ) and with the lines of ashes (bhasma) and sandal on his forehead.[56] The Brahmachārīs used to carry pitchers (Kamaṇḍalāni) in their hands.[57] They observed strict celibacy which is very clear from Bāṇa's statement put in the mouth of Mahāśvetā, who fell in love with Puṇḍarīka. She reflects that if he (Puṇḍarīka) would see the effect of love, he would not approve that folly and would curse in wrath.[58] This strict life of a Brahmachārī is in conformity with the rules laid down in our treatises on social conduct.[59]

The Gṛihasthāśrama : Of all the Āśramas, the Gṛiahasthāśrama is given a very high and honoured place. The Smṛitis praise highly the life of householder and regard it as the pivot of the whole social structure. Manu says, " Just as all creatures exist depending on air, so do all the Āśramas depend upon the householder."[60] The Mahābhārata is quite emphatic in this connection.[61] Vātsāyana says that after getting one's education one should enter into the life of the householder. His Kāmasūtra is concerned entirely with this part of life. During the age of Harṣa it was a firm and deep-rooted institution. Bāṇa says about himself that he had been a diligent householder since his marriage.[62] The householders performed their duties with devotion and care. The main duties of a householder were to offer sacrifices, to live in accordance with the rules of conduct prescribed by his sect. His duty is to worship the gods, the ancestral deities, to entertain the guests, to show mercy to the poor and the distressed and to live according to the precepts of the Smṛitis and the Śrutis.[63] We find that these duties were earnestly performed by Harṣa and other people.

The Vānaprasthāśrama : During this period of life the individual gave up all his pursuits of artha and Kāma and left his near and dear

54. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 85. *bhasmapuṇḍrakapāṇḍuralalāṭaiḥ*. Kane. Canto. 2, p. 21, Ridding, p. 38 ; *Kadambari*, p. 88.

55. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 85-86. *Haritakuśapūlīpalāsa samindhi*. Kane. Canto 2. P. 21.

56. Ridding, pp. 104. 129 ff. *rachitachanadanalalāṭikātripuṇḍrakaṁ Kadambari*, Parab, p. 350.

57. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 86; *Kādambari of Bāṇa*, p. 108.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 108. *Kadāchidanabhimatasayarvikāradaraśanakupitoayaṁ śāpābhijñāṁ karotimāṁ. Kādambarī*, Parab. p. 307.

59. *Manu Smṛiti* : III. 2. and II. 178-222 ; *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* : 1. 52 ; *Kāmaṅdaka*, II. 25.26.

60. *Manu Smṛiti* : III. 77.

61. *Mahābhārata* : *Shāntiparva* ; *Adhyāya* II. *Yudhiṣtharam Prati gārhasthyasya Śreṣthayopapadanaṁ* i.e. exposition on the superiority of *Gṛiahasthāśrama* to Yudisthara.

62. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 66. *dāraparigrahādabhyagārikosmi*. Kane, Canto.2, p. 36.

63. *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra*. tr. M. N. Dutta. II. 25, 26. P. 21.

ones and abandoned his all belongings and possessions. He used to go to the forest (vana or araṇya) where by meditation and service he trained himself for the final āśrama. During Harṣa's age we find that people in their old age growing indifferent to their wordly affairs used to retire to penance groves.

In the Nāgānanda the Naṭī tell the stage-manager that her father- and mother-in-law had retired to the forest.[64] People after some severe shock also used to retire to the forest even in tender age. Harṣa is said to have mused after his father's death: "Pray heaven, my brother, when he learns of our father's death, may not assume two robes of bark or seek a hermitage as a royal sage,"[65] and we know that these words came to be true. Rājyavardhana's decision was changed only when the news of Gṛihavarmana's treacherous assassination reached him. After Puṇḍarīka's death, Mahāśvetā began to live on water and the roots and fruits of the forests.[66] Bāṇa further informs that sages, neglecting marriage and dispensing with domestic life took refuge in desolate forests.[67]

The Sanyāsa: This last phase of life provided the fullest opportunities for the self-expression of an individual. At this stage one surrendered all that was near and dear to his lower self in order to realize the real self, the Ātman. During the Harṣa age we have innumerable examples of such sages. Divākaramitra was a sage of such type. Bāṇa speaks in a very reverential tone to express his devotion to Divākaramitra.[68] Bāṇa also informs us about other sages and saints who were indifferent to pain and pleasure,[69] and trained themselves in the doctrine of Self.[70] They had no regard for wordly things. When Bhairavāchārya went to king Prabhākaravardhana, the latter placed himself, his treasury, his harem, and his court at the disposal of the former.[71] The ascetic replied with a smile, "what have we children of the woods to do with power and wealth."[72] This indicates the worldly detachment of sages and saints. Asceticism was not limited to men alone; ladies also followed this path. In Kāmasūtra female ascetics

64. *Nāgānanda by Harṣa*, Act. 1, p. 3.

65. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 62 *api nāma tātasya maraṇaṁ,...Āryo na gṛihvi—yādvalkale naśre dvārājarṣiparāśramapadaṁ* Kane, Canto 2, p. 85.

66. *The Kādambari of Bāṇa*, p. 185.

67. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 122. *atadbhyādakṛitadāra parigrahāḥ parihṛita-gṛihavasatayaḥ. Sānyāraṇyānyādniśeratemunayaḥ.*

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-243.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 162. *Samaduḥkha sukhāścha samāśritā.*

70. *Ibid.*, p. 162. *Adhigatātmatattavāḥ.*

71. *Ibid.*, p. 89. *tasmai cha Rājā-sāntaḥpuraṁ saparijanaṁ siakoṣamatmānāṁ niveditavān.*

72. *Ibid.*, p. 89 *Tāta Kva Vibhavaḥ kva cha vayaṁ vanavardhitāḥ.* Kane, Canto 3, p. 39.

find prominent mention as Pravrājika, Śramaṇā, Kṣapaṇikā, Tāpsī, Bhikṣukī (ṇī) Muṇḍā etc.[73] At various spots Bāṇa mentions some of these. Many aged ascetics surrounded the queen of Tārapīḍa. They read and recited the legends (from the religious texts) before the queen.[74] Among the companions of Bāṇa during his wanderings, there was an ascetic widow (Katyāyanikā) named Chakravākikā.[75] Kādambarī is also said to have been surrounded by wandering ascetics (Parivrājikābhiḥ) with marks of white ashes on their foreheads (dhavalabhasmalalāṭikābhiḥ).[76] Moreover, I would like to emphasize conclusively that an adherence to the Āśrama theory was voluntary and only a minority seems to have been attached to it.

73. *Studies in Vātsāyana's Kāmasūtra* p. 111.
74. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 70.
75. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 88.
76. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 162.

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MINISTERIAL DELIBERATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

DR. R. K. DIKSHIT

THE political thinkers of ancient India were altogether opposed to royal absolutism. Hence the Ministry or the Council of Advisers has been always regarded as a very vital organ of the body politic. The ministers have been invariably assigned the second place amongst the *prakṛitis* of the state, and their importance has been emphasised by all the ancient writers. Manu, for example, states that even a very easy and simple task cannot be accomplished by a person single-handed. How then, he asks, can the work of the king, which involves great issues, be accomplised without assistance.[1] He regards a king without good *sahāyas* as unfit to rule (VII. 30-31). Similar views have been expressed by other writers, too. Kauṭilya (I.7.15), who compares the king and his ministers to the two wheels of a chariot, says that "kingship is possible only with (the aid of) assistants: a single wheel cannot work (a chariot)....."[2] Likewise we read in the *Mahābhārata* that a king cannot rule without the assistance of ministers even for three days (XII.106.11). Śukra is more explicit. His dictum is that a ruler should not decide political issues without consulting his ministers, howsoever proficient he might be in practical polity and other sciences; otherwise, he would ruin the state and earn unpopularity (II. 2-4). Somadeva, too, asserts that a king who neglected the advice of his ministers was liable to be overwhelmed by his foes (*NV*, X).

It is in consonance to these principles that *Pañchatantra* describes the ministers as the pillars of the state. Matsya Purāṇa (215.2) also shares the view that they impart stability to the state. Others again have described the ministers as the eyes, arms, the tongue, or the ears of the king—nay, as his very heart.[3] Kāmandaka, who attaches greater importance to the power of counsel (mantraśakti) than to the power of arms, compares a king without ministers to a bird whose wings have

1. *Manu*, VII, 55. Cf. also, *Mahābhārata*, XII, 80, 1; *Matsya*, 215.3; *Vishṇudharmottara*, II. 24.3; *Śukra*, II. 1; *Nītivākyāmṛita*, XVIII. 2.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 3.
3. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15. 61-2; *Śukra*, II. 12-13; *Nītivākyāmrita*, X. 55; *EI*, vol. I, p. 200, vol. V.,p. 80; vol. IV, p. 60; *IA*, vol. XI, p. 70, etc.

been clipped off.[4] Consequently, a ruler is advised to spare no efforts to tamper with the loyalty of the ministers of his adversary. Ministerial debacle was regarded as one of the greatest calamities that could befall a state. There is a lively discussion on the topic in the *Arthasāstra* (VIII. 1).

The ministers have been classified as Karma-sachivas and Mati, Dhī- or Buddhi sachivas.[5] The former were the administrators and the latter were the counsellors. According to *Amarakoṣa* the Dhī-sachivas alone were styled mantrins. They held the most responsible office in the state. Naturally, therefore, they were expected to possess very high qualifications, and the king was asked to exercise the greatest care in their selection. Any individual who withstood one of the four *upadhā* tests could be appointed as Amātya, but only such persons could be selected for the post of Mantrī as had proved their loyalty and integrity by all the tests.

We notice considerable divergence of opinion amongst ancient writers with regard to the strength of the ministry. Kāmandaka says that Mānava, Bārhaspatya and Auśanasa schools favoured, respectively, a ministry of 12, 16 and 20, while others were in favour of a smaller body of 'five, seven or more'. There was also a third view which recommended the appointment of as many ministers as the needs and resources of the state warranted (*yathā-sāmarthyam*). It is evidently an allusion to the views of his preceptor Kauṭilya.[6] A later writer, Somadeva Sūrī is opposed to both a very large and a very small ministry. A cabinet with a large membership may not always find it possible to arrive at unanimous decisions, and it may also be torn into factions on account of the mutual jealousies of the ministers. On the other hand a single minister may tend to behave autocratically, or, if there are two in the cabinet, they may combine to harm the interests of the state. Therefore he recommends a compact cabinet of 3, 5 or 7 members (*N.V.*, X. 66-74). The uneven number is favoured because it helped a majority decision. Manu (VII. 54) takes the 'middle path' and commends a cabinet of 7 or 8 ministers. His views have been upheld by several authorities, earlier as well as later, including the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 7. 2-3), *Mahābhārata* (XII. 85·11), *Mānasollāsa* (II. 2. v. 57) and *Śukranīti*. It is only the last named work that preserves a list of all the eight ministers, and specifies their functions. They are the Pratinidhi, Pradhāna, Sachiva, Mantrī, Paṁḍita, Prādvivāka,

4. *Nītiśāra*, XIII. 25; *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 1.9.

5. Cf. *Amarakośa*, (*Kshatriya-varga*); Kultuka on *Manu*, VII. 90; *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44; Śankara, on *Kamandaka*, IV, 80. etc.

6. *NS*, XI, 67-68, Cf. *AS*, 15.53-56.

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Amātya and Sumantra. This list is based on the account of 'others'. Śukra himself adds Purohita and Dūta to it (S.N., II. 69-72).[7]

There is also some evidence to suggest the existence of a large ministry with a small 'Inner Cabinet'. It was the necessity of preserving secrecy of deliberations that led to the formation of the smaller body. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 85. 7-11), for example, suggests that the king should have 37 *amātyas* but adds that he should discuss and decide his policy in the midst of 8 *mantrins*. Likewise, Vālmīki and Kauṭilya advise him to hold consultations with 3 or 4 ministers.[8] The *Rāmāyaṇa* designates them as Mantradharas and the Mahābhārata as Mantragrahas.[9] Kauṭilya's assertion that 'when there is an extraordinary matter the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad should be called together and informed' (I. 15.11) suggests the existence of junior and senior ministers, whom we may designate ministers of the cabinet rank and those who did not enjoy that privilege. The prefix *mahā* that we occasionally find added to ministerial designations points to the same conclusion. The title Kumārāmātya, too, may be an indication of the same fact. We presume that these junior ministers did not enjoy the cabinet rank. There is also a difference of opinion in respect of the principal ministers. Śukra enumerates them in order of pay any precedence, but he adds that other authorities favoured equal pay. All of them, however, enjoyed equal authority (*samabala*).[10]

Unfortunately our authorities throw very little light on the functioning of the ministry. The ministers were appointed by and individually responsible to the king, who could punish them for their lapses and shortcomings. But the existence of the ministerial council and the prime minister suggests collective functioning, if not joint responsibility of the ministry. Manu also alludes to the practice of the king consulting his ministers jointly. The council of ministers is variously designated as Mantra or Mantri-parishad, Mantri-maṇḍala and Mantri-gaṇa,[11] and the Prime Minister as Mantrimukhya or Mahāmantrī.[12] He was the leader of the cabinet, and the chief confidant of the king. He presided over the deliberations of the cabinet in the absence of the king, and reported their decision to him. He even administered the state during his illness and absence (Manu, VII. 226).

7. A casual remark in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Act I) shows that the eight ministers had become traditional in the country. Sivaji, too, had the same number of ministers.

8. *Ram.* II, 100.71 ; *AS*, I. 15.37.

9. *Ram.* II, 100.16. *MBh.*, XII, 83.50.

10. *Sukraniti*, II, 71, 73, 76, 108.

11. *AS*, I, 15.63 ; *Pāṇini*, V, 2.112 ; *Malavikāgnimitra*, (Act V) ; *Nitisara*, XI, 67 ; *MBh.* (XII, 83. 12) ; *SN*, II, 361, etc.
It is called *Paṅsā* in Pali texts; cf. *Jataka*, VI, pp. 405, 43; *Mahāvastu*, vol.II. pp. 419, 442 ; *R.E.* III and VI of Asoka.

12. Cf. *EI*, vol. I, p. 119, vol. V. 21 ; pp. 201, vol. V, p. 41 ; *CII*, vol. IV, No. 48, pp. 84-5 ; No. 56. l. 25.

The Smṛitis, like other authorities, insist that ministers should be consulted on all the important affairs of the state—(*sarva kāryān*) individually as well as collectively. Subsequently, the king is advised to hold counsel with the Brāhmaṇa (Chief) Minister. Finally, he should reconsider the whole matter by himself, in the light of their advice, and then take a decision.[13] Thus, the final decision was left to the ruler himself. It was only natural, for the ultimate responsibility rested with him alone. Normally, however, no king would flout the advice of his ministers. Kāmandaka rightly observes that "the king who crosses his ministers is himself crossed by his enemies."[14]

Manu advises the king to consult his ministers individually and collectively. It was a wholesome proposition. A minister might have good reasons for not giving out his mind in the presence of his colleagues.[15] No doubt, Kauṭilya advises them to speak "boldy and sensibly, with no fear of contradiction from the cabinet (parishad)",[16] but Śukra feels that the ministers might prefer to "go dumb", through extraneous considerations. Therefore, he desires the king to invite their opinions in writing.[17] He should not act, in this case, upon the principles that 'silence gives consent'.

Manu gives us an idea of the nature of business on which the opinion of the ministers was sought. It covered the entire range of internal administration and foreign policy (sandhi-vigraham).[18] At one place we are told that they should be consulted about *sthānaṁ*, which the commentators define as the fourfold state, consisting of the Army, Treasury, Capital or Fort, and the kingdom, *samudayaṁ, i.e.* the sources of revenue, *guptiṁ* or the means of protection, and *labdhaprasamanāni*—'the consolidation of what has been acquired', by continuance of gifts and bounties.[19] At another place, it is stated that the ministers should be consulted about the entire eightfold business of the state (*kṛitsnaṁ ashṭavidham karma*), and the conduct and attitude of the rulers of the king's *Maṇḍala* (*prachāraṁ maṇḍalasya*).[20] They also deliberated upon the despatch of ambassadors (*dūta-sampreshana*),

13. Cf. Manu, VII, 57-59; Yājñāvalkya, I. 312:

तैः सार्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेसाथ ततः स्वयम् ।

We notice a difference in the statements of the two sages. The latter asks the king to consult the ministers collectively (*taih. sārdhaṁ*), while the former says that they should be consulted both individually (*pṛithak pṛithak*) *and* collectively.

14. *Nītisāra.*

15. Medhātithi, explaining the proviso, says that 'some people are shy in assemblies, but bold in private, while others are more fit in assemblies'.

16. *Arthaśāstra.*

17. *Śukranīti*, II.

18. Cf. *Śukraniti*, IV. 1068; कर्मणा विग्रहस्तंतुचिंतयेन्मंत्रिभिर्नृपः ।

19. *Manu*, VII. 56.

20. *Ibid.*, VII. 154-55.

the reports of the spies, particularly of those belonging to the *Pañcha-varga*[21]—the Five Institutes of Espionage referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, and the affection and disaffection (*anurāgaparāgan*) of the people.[22] They were also consulted by the king upon such personal matters as the affairs of the harem (*antaḥpura-prachāraṁ*), the marriage of the daughters (*kanyānām-sampradānam*) and the guardianship of the princes (*kumārān-rakshaṇaṁ*)—in short, upon all matters leading to the attainment of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.[23]

We are frequently referred to the five elements of the *mantra*, on which a ruler should deliberate with his ministers. These are (*i*) the preliminaries to an undertaking (*karmaṇarambhopāya* or *sahāya*, (*ii*) the provision of necessary means (*sādhanopāya* or *purusha-dravya saṁpat*), (*iii*) the proper appropriation of means according to the exigencies of time and place (*deśa-kāla-vibhāgo*), (*iv*) anticipation of the difficulties that might be encountered, and provision of remedies against them (*Vinipātam pratikāraḥ, Vipateś : cha pratikāraḥ*), and (*v*) the final accomplishment (*kāryasiddhi*) which should be of a productive and permanent character.[24] Elsewhere, it is stated that the aim of ministerial deliberations was to study the different aspects of a question, to arrive at a correct decision, to remove the doubts and to realise fully the implications of a problem that was only partially, ' seen '.[25]

The *smṛitis* emphasise that the proceedings of the Cabinet should remain absolutely secret. According to Yājñavalkya, " secret counsel is the root of a kingdom"[26], while Manu asserts that even a poor king who maintains the secrecy of his plans "enjoys the whole earth."[27] They have therefore recommended various precautionary measures to prevent the leakage of the deliberations of the Parishad. It should meet in a secluded place—inside a special chamber, on the roof of the royal palace, or in the seclusion of a forest. Manu prefers a hill-top, a desolate forest or a building where the counsellors would remain unobserved.[28] Kāmandaka adds that there should be no pillars inside the council chamber to resound the conversation, no windows to let out the speeches,

21. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 328: पश्येच्चारोस्ततो दूतान प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः ।

22. *Ibid.*, VII. 158-54.

23. *Ibid.*, VII. 151-53.

24. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.47 ; *Nitivākyamṛita*, X. 25 ; *Mānasollāsa*, II. 9v. 697 *Nītisāra* (XI. 56) and *Agni Purāna* (241.4) omit *Kāryasiddhi*, and make up the five by reckoning *deśa* and *kāla vibhāgas* separately.

25. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.22 ;
and also, *Nītisāra*, XI, 50 ; *Nitivākyāmṛita*, X. 28.

26 *Yājñavalkya*, I. 344 :

27. *Manu*, VII. 148. Cf. also, *Daksha*, III. 15 and *Nitisāra*, XI. 58 .

28. *Manu*, VII. 147. Cf. *Śukraniti*, I. 350.

and no nooks or corners to conceal the inquisitive evesdropper.[29] None were allowed near the place of deliberations,[30] particularly the idiotic, deaf, dumb and very aged persons, women, *mlechchhas*, and the sick and maimed. Animals and birds, too, were kept away.[31]

Kauṭilya also held a similar opinion. According to him, "the place for consultation should be so secluded that the conversation going on inside will not be heard outside, and that even birds cannot see it, for it is narrated that secret consultations were divulged by parrots, *śārikhās* dogs and other lower animals.[32]" The participants in the deliberations were warned to take care of themselves also, lest they might give out the secret to their confidants in an unwary mood, come out with it in a fit of inebriation or anger, or divulge it inadvertently during sleep.[33] Even changes in the attitude and facial expressions of the people "often lead to the disclosure of counsel."[34]

The importance attached to the secrecy of deliberations is evidenced by a long discussion by Kauṭilya of the views of his predecessors. Bhardvāja represented the extreme view that the "king shall singly deliberate over secret matters; for ministers have their own ministers, and the latter some of their own; this kind of successive line of ministers tends to the disclosure of counsels." Viśālāksha disagrees with him. His dictum is that "no deliberations made by a single person will be successful." The nature of state business was so intricate that its accomplishment was "possible of decision only by ministers." Parāśara is more cautious. According to him the king should consult the ministers, but without disclosing the secrets. "He shall seek their opinion on a work similar to the one he has in view," telling them that "this is the work, it happened thus; what is to be done if it will turn out thus." Piśuna is opposed to this method. He feels that the ministers would either approach such hypothetical questions "with indifference, or give their opinions half-heartedly." His own advice is that the king should consult such ministers as are proficient in the matter under discussion, and are capable of maintaining the secret. Kauṭilya concludes with the advice that the king should always consult a select

29. *Nītisāra*, XI. 66.
30. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.5
31. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 149.
It says that women, persons in disgrace and animals usually betrayed the secret plans (VII. 150). Medhātithi adds that parrots, and animals like cows and horses, 'under the influence of some magical arts', are made to carry good and bad news, after having their shape transformed.
32. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15. 3-4.
We get a curious confirmation of it in the *Harshacharita* (Ch. VI): King Nāgasena came to grief because his policy had been divulged by a *śārikā*; Śrutavarman lost his kingdom as his secret was disclosed by a parrot, while king Suvarṇachūḍa met his death as consequence of babbling his policy out in sleep.
33. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.11-12; *Nītisāra*, XI. 65.
34. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.7.

number of ministers, 'three or four', in whom he has confidence.[35] But he allows considerable latitude to the rules in this respect and permits them "in accordance with the requirements of place, time and the nature of the work" to deliberate 'with one or two ministers or by himself' alone.[36] However, he says that consultation with a single minister may not lead to any definite conclusion in case of complicated issues. A single minister proceeds wilfully and without restraint. In deliberating with two ministers the king may be overpowered by their combined action, or imperilled by their mutual discussion. He also adds that if the king consults "ministers more than four in number he will .....come to a decision (only) after a good deal of trouble," and it may also imperil the secrecy of counsel.[37] Consequently Manu suggests that he should discuss the confidential matters "pertaining to the sixfold statecraft" only with the Prime Minister.[38] Ancient authorities evidently believed in the maxim: the greater the number of counsellors the less would be the output and more the chances of leakage.

There is complete unanimity amongst them in respect of *mantra-gupti*. The secrecy of counsel must be preserved, for on that depended the safety and welfare of the state. To ensure absolute secrecy, it is ordained that the Council should not sit over a long period.[39] A prolonged session may open the way to leakage of counsel. Likewise. Yājñavalkya ordains that the people, or even the persons employed to carry out a plan, should know of it only when it has been put into operation, or better when it has been accomplished.[40] Kāmandaka's dictum '*guptiranuttama*' puts the whole thing in a nutshell.[41] The divulgence of state secrets was a serious offence, calling for the severest punishment.[42] Śukra even warns the people against discussing the policies of the government in public.[43] They must not leak out to the enemy, though every attempt must be made to know his secrets.[44]

35. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.
36. *Ibid.*, I. 15.46.
37. *Ibid.*, I. 15. 38-45.
Similarly, we are told in the *Rāmāyana*, II. 100.18, that a king should neither determine his policy by himself alone, nor in consultation with too many ministers.
38. *Manu*, VII. 58.
Pāṇini's ashadakshiṇa-mantra (V. 47) implies the same, *vide.* Agarwala, *India as known to Panini.*
39. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.51; *Nītisāra*, XI. 56.
40. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 343; also, *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15; *Nitisara*, IV.
41. *Ibid.*, XI. 53:
Cf. also *Agni*, 225. 16-19 and *Manasollasa*, II. 9. vss. 700-705 for the Secrecy of Counsel.
42. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 302; *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.6.
43. *Śukranīti*, III. 308.
44. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.65. . .

TWO INTERESTING GUPTA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA

SHRI K. D. BAJPAI

RECENTLY two interesting scultpures of the Gupta period have been obtained from Katra Keshavadeva, one of the ancient sites in Mathura town. They have now been exhibited in the local Archæological Museum.

The first (No. 3810, ht. 4') is an architectural piece carved with a female figure. The female is shown standing against an Asoka tree in a most graceful pose. She holds with her upraised left arm a branch of the blossoming tree. The right hand is partly damaged. It was probably held akimbo. Her right foot touches the stem of the Asoka tree, the motif so commonly met with in several *śālabhañjikā* figures found at Mathura and elsewhere. The lower parts of both the feet are damaged.

Besides the lower garment and an upper long scarf (*uttariya*) the lady is wearing ear-lobes, torque, necklace (*stanahāra*) armlets and a heavy stringed *mekhalā*. Her coiffure (*dhammilla*) has tastefully been arranged.

The whole figure is excellently chiselled. It probably formed part of a doorjamb of a Gupta structure.

The second piece (No. 4336, ht. 1' 10") is the torso of a standing female figure. The head, hands and lower portion of the legs are broken. The figure wears a *dhoti* tied with a five-stringed *mekhalā*. Part of the upper garment (*uttarīya*) is visible on the left shoulder. But for an *ekāvalī* (one stringed necklace) passing through the breasts like a *yajñopavīta*, the upper part is depicted bare. She holds a small flask (*kamaṇḍalu*) in her left hand.

The figure is carved in the round, a somewhat rare feature of the Gupta art. The back shows a *peepul* tree, against which the lady stands. The tree is shown having a number of branches full of leaves. The back part of the female figure including the conspicuous *mekhalā* is visible.

These two scultpures are exquisitely carved and bear an eloquent testimony to the high watermark in plastic art attained by the artists of the Gupta Age. They are undoubtedly welcome additions to the Gupta exhibits of the Archæological Museum at Mathura.

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DEBT AND USURY IN THE SMRITIS

PROFESSOR BIMALA PROSAD MUKERJI

DEBT and usury are invariable concomitants in any social system that recognises private property. Most of the ancient civilisations of the world passed through primitive communal ownership to a cognition of the rights of individual possession. This process of transition can be dated from the proto-literate period when written records emerge and register the historic change. When the urban revolution takes place and arts and industries develop, there is an increase of private trade and foreign commerce leading to accumulation of wealth which again demands investment. Profit-earning, of course, is the basic motive, the economic compulsion that seldom permits wealth to remain idle. A group of vested interests makes its appearance in a social organisation that has arrived at stratification and takes full advantage of the new economic set-up where less fortunate individuals are driven into want and forced to borrow.

Loans are usually given in cash or in kind. But for all such loans, the borrower is expected to pay for the use, however temporary, of the article borrowed. This is the basic principle of debt and interest is regarded as the margin of profit due to the creditor. The rates vary, of course, in keeping with stipulations of time and terms of repayment. Once the limit is crossed, the rates increase or decrease. But the creditor has invariably the upper hand because custom and law, with the sanction of tradition and private wealth, come forward to give him the needed protection against loss.

The ancient social systems, following on the whole the basic principle of debt, devised laws and regulations for deposit, loan, and interest. India, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome in particular evolved sets of such civil laws but naturally with some contrasts due to differences in environment and civilisation. Some of these ancient codes are rigid, others less severe towards the debtors, while a few reflect socio-economic notions which indicate an interesting fusion of primitive and advanced civilisation. For a comparative study, there is no dearth of source-material. In the Ancient Near East, in spite of superimpositions of cultures, we have the old Sumerian laws and edicts of Urukagina, Ur-Engur and a host of other patesis, however sketchy, and finally, the

great Code of Hammurabi. In Greece, we have Solon's laws followed by others in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. while in Rome, we have the customary laws of debt in the early days of the Republic gradually modified and finally systematised in the Imperial period.

As for India, we have to depend mainly on the Dharma-Śāstras or Smṛitis which incorporated local customs and usages. As such, they constitute our chief source of information in regard to debt and usury. The underlying principles and prevailing practices can well be gleaned from a detailed study of Manu, Yājnavalkya, Gautama, Viṣnu, Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana Smṛitis. The importance and popularity of these Smṛitis as social documents is undisputed. What is relevant to our immediate purpose is that they give us a good idea of the civil laws of debt, the rates of interest (vriddhi) varying with the time-limits, the importance of deposits, *i.e.* pledge or mortgage as also some principles of equity that should govern contracts and loans. Accepting Kane's view about the antiquity of the Smṛitis, we can place them roughly between the 2nd century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. During the eight centuries between the upper and lower limits, India's social economy must have been stabilised and the existence of an agrarian and some sort of a money-economy can be taken for granted.

Side by side with agriculture which still constituted India's chief source of wealth, there were arts and industries, internal trade and foreign commerce which must have led to the accumulation of private wealth and its investment. Hence we find frequent mentions of money-debts as well as loans of agricultural commodities. Money-lending was an accepted practice and the income from interest was a recognised source of wealth for the third and fourth castes, though early law-givers like Manu and Gautama permit usury to the two higher orders, only in exceptional cases—'Kusida' being normally restricted to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Though income by usury was considered tainted money, Yājnavalkya,[1] Gautama,[2] Viṣṇu,[3] Bṛihaspati[4] and other Smṛitikaras laid down regulations which obviously permitted money-lending and indicated the contractual relationship between the debtor and the creditor.

Lending and borrowing being essentially a private contract, the state had no direct responsiblity in enforcing it, except probably in extreme cases. But even then, it could not very well ignore local custom or prevailing practice, and judicial decisions were obviously based on such current rates and rules fixed by individuals concerned and by guilds

1. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 31-50.
2. *Gautama*, XII.
3. *Viṣṇu*, VI.
4. *Bṛihaspati*, X.

and corporations. Individual liberty and freedom of contract were the recognised principles which naturally placed the creditor at an advantage. But non-intervention by the state and the absence of controlling measures did not always put the debtor at the absolute mercy of the creditor. With professional money-lenders operating from one end, the poor peasant and toiler, of course, must have suffered, for there must have been a large measure of indebtedness in the lowest social ranks. But we have evidence to show that jusitce did not miscarry in ordinary cases. The great Smṛitikaras while laying down rules governing debt did not forget the principles of equity.

For example, Manu allows interest on debt at the rate of 2, 3, 4 or 5 per cent according to caste-order. But at the same time, he mentions that all agreements contrary to settled and right usage are invalid[5] and the pledges and deposits, open or sealed, do not confer a prescriptive right upon the enjoyer.[6] Yājnavalkya is more explicit on the law of debt and says that the sanctioned interest on debts by pledges is 1¼% per month, *i.e.* 15% per annum, while the interest in other cases is what is laid down by Manu. Debtors however, undertaking risky journeys are discriminatively subjected to heavier premiums. In the same context, he lays down the maximum rates of interest for different kinds of articles borrowed, such as loans in agricultural products, as also the laws against usury.[7] Nārada and Bṛihaspati also prescribe 15% per annum as the usual rate of interest on secured loans,[8] while in unsecured loans, the rates are 24, 36, 48 and 60% per annum according to the descending order of castes. Thus Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the two non-producing classes, enjoyed a distinct advantage. Even so, the high rates of interest given above compare favourably not only with those in some other ancient civilisations but with those obtaining in India and elsewhere in much later times.

Nārada sanctions four kinds of interest[9] :—Kālika (periodical), Kārita (stipulated), Kāyika (corporal) and Chakravṛiddhi (compound), though Manu condemns the last three. Bṛihaspati adds[10] two more to the list—Śikhāvṛiddhi (hair-interest or interest growing ceaselessly like hair until the principal is paid off) and Bhogalābha (interest by enjoyment, *i.e.* mortgaged property). Bṛihaspati gives more details about debt and its recovery while all lawgivers mention ādhi and bandha (proper pledge and deposit), pratibhū (guarantor) and written bond with attestation by witness as the essentials in all money-lending transactions.[11] In the event of the principal remaining unpaid, Kāyika,

5. *Manu*, VIII, 163-164.
6. *Manu*, VIII, 145-149.
7. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 38-41.
8. *Nārada*, I. and X.
9. *Nārada*, I. 102f.
10. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10.9f.
11. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10.5.

Śikhāvṛiddhi and Bhogalabha may be taken. But the use of pledge after twice the amount of the principal has been realised from it, as well as compound interest and the exaction of principal and interest (together as principal) is reprehensible.[12]

Kātyāyana's version of the law of debt is an interesting attempt to reconcile incompatibles. The last great Smṛitikara, while he allows on the one hand interest fixed by contract in excess of what is valid by law (if the debtor promised it under duress) and permits the running of interest even in the absence of an agreement to that effect, makes some wise provisions on the other and favours some protection to the borrowers. In addition to ordinary borrowings between individuals, there were also loan-transactions between business-groups and joint money-lending groups. Both Nārada and Bṛihaspati have laid down specific regulations governing such business-debts in prartnership and their recovery by joint creditors.[13] There are also elaborate rules about the inheritance of debts, not limited by time, and their repayment down to the third generation.

Certain facts clearly emerge from the account given above. The repayment of debt was a moral obligation. The higher castes enjoyed certain privileges and immunities in lending and borrowing.[14] Interest accrued with or without specific agreement and the creditor was given a large measure of latitude in the matter of realising his dues, the laws being mainly on his side. Loans of foodstuffs and agricultural products, wool and cloth, that is, of essential commodities were more fetching than loans of money, gold and other metals. This is a clear indication of the predominance of agrarian economy. As commerce and industry developed, there was more and more indebtedness in society. With the gradual expansion of economy, the frequency of debt increased, bringing with it elaborate provisions by the later Smṛitikaras. Extortion or exploitation by the creditor was an unquestioned fact. Yet there are specific articles and conditions mentioned which do not permit the taking of interest.[15] Later legislation must have made itself more elastic with growing debt and usury but the earlier law-givers in days of comparatively static economy set definite limits to the accretion of interest and prescribe its cessation when it reaches the principal amount.[16] It thus appears that the laws of debt, though mostly favouring the creditor and naturally exploiting the debtor, were not so absolutely rigid and merciless as roundly assumed by some scholars. They had some redeeming features, particularly when the

12. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10, 16, 21.
13. *Bṛihaspati*, XIII, 4, 25; *Nārada*, I. 15.
14. *Bṛihaspati*, X, 113-114; *Nārada*, I. 2-4.
15. *Nārada*, I. 108-109; *Bṛihaspati*, X. 28.
16. *Manu*, VIII. 151; *Gautama*, XII. 30-31.

interests of debtors were noted and partially protected and some relief was granted to defaulters with *bona fides*.[17] At least, there should be no hasty, sweeping generalisation.

Thus, the overall picture is not so dark as that of some other ancient slave-owning civilisations. Admitting the ineptitude of comparisons between cultures widely separated and differently conditioned, one may note that even prior and contemporary civilisations had laws of debt that were much more harsh and severe than the Indian laws. In Sumer and Babylon, the laws professed to give some protection to the debtor. The numerous business and government records indicate that credits and loans were carefully regulated by Sumerian law and the recognised rates of interest were 20 to 33⅓ per cent. As for Babylon, the great code of Hammurabi which is an interesting mixture of crude and advanced ideas of justice states that loans were made at a high rate of interest. The state fixed 20% for loans in goods and 33% for money-loans. But even such rates were exceeded by lenders who employed clever scribes to circumvent the law (para 39). Apart from private persons and priests, there were prowerful groups or families of money-lenders who dealt in property and financed industrial enterprises (para 40). The law, of course, occasionally helped the debtor when placed in a difficult situation by flood or drought or other ' acts of God ' (para 42). But, generally speaking, the law was devised with the ostensible purpose of protecting property and preventing losses. No person had a right to borrow unless he meant to be wholly responsible for paying off his debt. Thus, the debtor's slave or son could be seized and held as a hostage for an unpaid debt for three years (para 43). This plague of usury in Babylon was the penalty for a complex credit system, the natural result of a social economy that had changed its pattern from primitive agriculture to commerce and industry. The practical business character of both Sumerian and Babylonian societies is clear from the host of surviving tablets and cylinder seals mostly relating to loans and contracts, sales and partnerships. The serf cultivators of Assyria also were perpetually in debt and, in addition to rents in kind and physical service on the noble and crown lands, had to meet a high rate of interest for loans secured.

In Greece, primarily a land of agriculture and never attaining agricultural self-sufficiency for her size and want of proper soil, poverty for the small farmer was proverbial and interest on loans was very high even before the sixth century B.C. In Solon's time, the scarcity of money for the lack of domestic coinage and consequent low prices for farm products drove the peasants into mortgaging their farms for debt. The high interest of 18% made payment impossible, thus making them

17. *Nārada*, I. 131-132.

lose their land to the wealthy creditors. The landless freemen (hectemori) pledging themselves and their families as security for loans were sold into slavery. It was for this double burden of debt and slavery that Solon had to improvise legislation, cancelling existing debts and prohibiting future mortgage of the person (seisactheia). But in spite of Solon's economic reforms, conditions did not materially change even in the 5th century B.C. when Athens under Pericles launched into economic imperialism and switched over to a kind of money-economy with rapidly increasing trade and industry. But it was mostly import trade in grains and other necessities, for Athens was still agriculturally poor and her commercial development was hardly an answer to the needs of a swelling population with its influx of metics and slaves. The result may have been good for a time but Athens and Greece for the matter of that, did not in spite of her private wealth and capital, rise above an agricultural economy and slave-economy at that. She suffered all along from interference with production, from the disturbance of trade, from repeated ravages of town and country and from frequent expenditures for war, a more normal occurrence than peace. The rural mortgage inscriptions prove that she was a land of small farms, insufficient and indebted, a land that had poverty for its foster-sister. Internal conditions in fourth-century Hellas were no better. In spite of expanding economy, the lot of free labour with slavery encroaching on it was poor indeed. Small farms suffered extremely from the unscrupulous operations of money-lenders, private bankers and citizens with capital to invest in land. Larger opportunities for investment brought out capital, but for the debtor the normal interest rates were high. And for maritime tradesmen, interest on bottomry loans was still higher, often going up to 30%. Such high rates are some index of the general insecurity of property and capital in ancient Greece. In the Hellenestic age, with the advent of a new world trade extending over three continents, merchants had better facilities of credit. But it was a prosperity only for the upper classes. In populous trade-centres, credit was easy and profits large. Increase of capital and decrease of risks brought down the normal rate of interest from 12% to 10% in the third century B.C. But for the small farmers and tenants unable to pay rents, evictions for debt were common and their poverty sinking into serfdom was an important factor in the later general decline of Hellas.

With Rome, conditions were as bad if not worse. Solon had annulled slavery for debt at a single stroke; but to the Roman, as Greenidge said in 'Roman Public Life', it was a sacred thing, an expression of Romana fides. Continued pressure produced some measures in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. to mitigate the curse of debt by giving the nexus a legal remedy against the money-lender

charging illegal interest. But the evil was always there, causing many a bitter social conflict at the end of the Republic. At one time, the rules of private property demanded that a man who had contracted a debt on the security of his person and failed to meet his obligations was assigned (addictus) to his creditor as his bondsman (neuxus) and might be imprisoned or even put to death. In the case of more than one creditor, his body might be cut to pieces and distributed in equal portions. With the extension of Roman trade and commerce the penalty for debts by nexal contract were by a refined procedure extended to those made by verbal promise (stipulatio, sponsio). It was this cruel law of debt or binding obligation (nexum) that called out the Plebs in non-violent resistance. Lex Marcia, Lex Poetilia and other enactments somewhat improved the position but to the harshness of law was added the ignorance of its forms so that the agricultural masses in particular never got out of the vicious rut. The decay of agriculture and depopulation of villages at the end of the Punic and Eastern wars only augmented the evil and the addictio and imprisonment of debtors by the order of the court continued right through the Republic and into the Empire.

Thus, a comparative study of the regulations of debt and usury in ancient civilisations seems to indicate that conditions in India even in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. were somewhat better. Even Kātyāyana, the last of the important Smṛitikaras, prescribes various rules against usury and sanctions only double the principal as the maximum amount recoverable. That is to say, accrued interest should not exceed the original loan. The creditor may exert social pressure but the debtor disputing the claim for dues has the right to be sued in court, in other words, the right to force a legal decision.[18] Viṣṇu Smṛiti, an earlier work, makes some nice and distinctive provisions. For instance, it says that a creditor is not entitled to interest if he refuses to accept payment of the principal.[19] Again, if the debor being oppressed in the course of realisation goes to the king, the creditor is to be fined an amount equal to the principal.[20] Viṣnu lays down further a few regulations in favour of debtors. Any debt to be proved requires a written deed, witness and oath. If a loan is made before a witness, its repayment needs the presence of a witness. A deed for loan should be torn when the principal has been realised and even when there is no deed with the creditor at the time of repayment, he should give the debtor a deed of release on his own account.[21]

18. *Kātyāyana*, vv. 580-590.
19. *Viṣṇu*, VI. 10.
20. *Viṣṇu*, VI, 19.
21. *Viṣṇu* VI. 23-26.

It is a fact that though slavery, a natural corollary of debt, existed in ancient India, hers was not a slave-economy. The laws of debt, pulling in favour of creditors and not infrequenly pressed hard against debtors, were on the whole less rigid and severe. Discrimination of caste not withstanding, the Smṛitis show more balance and subtlety in legal attitude. A growing capital and an expanding economy, if such terms may be used, did not entirely negative the principles of equity. A patient analysis of the various Indian regulations, however theoretical, will indicate the absence of such constant emphasis as found in other ancient codes on property above human life.

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THE CULT OF NINE DEITIES

(A Ceiling Sculpture from Manod)

Dr. V. S. Pathak

If Early Medieval Age (700 A.D.-1200 A.D.) was the period of great disintegration and partial rebirth in social and political spheres, it was also the time of great rebirth and partial disintegration in religious field. There was a slow yet sure decay of imperial and traditional orders in state and society but in religion if it was a decay in one sense because its bonds were loosened from ancient vedic moorings, it was a progress in another as new sources and tendencies infused indomitable faith and energy which burst forth in innumerable cults with their complex pantheons, elaborate and syncretic iconographies, complicated rituals and esoteric schools of philosophy. This in its turn gave a new lease of life to art. New forms with almost bewildering varieties came into existence which when correctly interpreted give us a glimpse into the mighty religious movement of that period. But several of them still await correct identifications.

For example, a ceiling sculpture from Manod (Gujerat) may be mentioned. According to Cousens this "curious sculpture representing Vishṇu seated on Śesha, whose tail and those of two attendant snake *devīs* interlaced and knotted together from the border of the panel. The tails in crossing from one side of the border to the other enclosed eight somewhat oval spaces around the circle and in these are small sculptured figures, among which it is easy to recognise Narasimha and Varāha *avatāras* of Vishṇu but the other six are not apparently of the same class."[1]

Sankalia,[2] however, doubts the identification of Vishṇu on Śesha and interprets it as a Kāliyamarddana scene. He compares it with similar other sculptures from Somnath, Mangrol and Abu.

But Sankalia's identification seems to be wrong. Firstly, the figure is represented as having conch, discus, mace and lotus in his four hands

1. *Arch. Survey of Northern Gujarata*, 109.
2. *Arch. of. Guj.*, p. 153.

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while at Somnath Krishṇa is having only two hands holding *chakra* and noose which passes through the nostrils of Kāliyā. Secondly, the figure is not at all represented as trampling the serpent. Vishṇu is represented as riding over Śesha who is sculptured exactly like Garuḍa of early medieval period. Cousens seems to be right in identifying it with Vishṇu on Śesha—iconographically known as *Ādimurti*.

This ceiling sculpture seems to depict a tāntric maṇḍala. Such tāntric circles are scultptured in the ceiling of Badami caves and have been illustrated by R. D. Banerji.[3] The *Paushkara-saṁhitā* dwells over various kinds of *maṇḍalas* one of which has been called *navanābha* containing nine circles with images therein.[4] This portion of the *Paushkara-saṁhitā* is incomplete and badly corrupt. Names of the deities are known from the *Vaikhnāsāgama* which describes the construction of a temple for "Nine Images." According to it *Ādi-murti i.e.* Vishṇu seated on Śesha should be installed in the sanctum, Nara Nārāyaṇa in the north, Nrisimha in the west, Varśha in the south, Purusha in the east, Satya in the south, Achyuta in the west, Manmatha also in the west and Aniruddha in the north.

With the help of the *Vaikhānasagama*[5] the scene may be interpreted as follows :—

1. The central maṇḍala consists of *Ādi-mūrti*, Vishṇu seated on Śesha who is represented as a *Vāhana* of the god with human face and a pair of hands in *namaskāra-mudrā* like Garuḍa of this period. Cousens remarks that "this is more like the Buddhist representation of Nāgārājas." Serpent has a canopy of three snake-hoods. Vishṇu is represented as placing his right foot on the right shoulder of the serpent while the left foot is turned up towards his elbow.

2. It consists of a pair of human beings. The photograph does not show details. They may be identified with Nara-Nārāyana of the *Vaikhānasāgama*.

3. The place has been assigned to Satya in the above quoted work. The *maṇḍala* contains a two-handed image. Attributes are indistinct. It may be mentioned here that the *Vaikhānasāgama* describes Satya as a two-handed deity.

4. The *maṇḍala* according to the scripture is meant for *Manmatha*. The protograph shows a pair in close embrace. They seem to be Manmatha and Rati.

3. *Bas-reliefs of Badami*, Pl. XIIIa.
4. आद्यं पद्मांदराख्यं तु नवसंख्यांपलक्षितं ।
मण्डलानामतां मध्यं बिम्बसंघं प्रकाश्यते । *Paushkara*, p. 1.
5. *Vaikhānasāgama*, ch. 41. See appendix at the end.

5. The *maṇḍala* for Achyuta. The photograph shows a seated four-handed figure holding *gadā*, *padma*, and two other indistinct attributes. The iconographic works describe the four *ayudhas* of Achyuta as *gadā*, *padma*, *chakra* and *śankha*.

6. The *maṇḍala* for Nṛisimha. The photograph clearly shows the seated image of Nrisimha.

7. The *maṇḍala* for Varāha. The image is clear from photograph.

8. The *maṇḍala* for Purusha. According to *Vaikhānasāgama* a white umbrella should be represented over the image of Purusha. The photograph distinctly shows the umbrella.

9. The *maṇḍala* for Aniruddha. The photograph is indistinct.

It is, therefore, very likely that the present sculpture depicts the 'Nine Images' in a circle (*maṇḍala*).

This cult of "Nine Deities" was an important Pāñcharātric school. *Pādma*, *Paushkara* and *Haysirsha—samhitās* classify Pāñcharātra into (*i*) Mantra, (*ii*) Āgama, (*iii*) Tanṭra and (*iv*) Tantrāntara subdivisions.[6] In *Mantra-siddhānta*, only one god is worshipped and therefore it is identical with *ekāntika* school. The Āgama enjoins the worship of Vāsudeva in the Vyuha and therefore it is same as the Sāttvata-Bhōgavata school. The *Tantra* lays down the worship of 'Nine Images'.[7] Lastly, *Tantrántara* school is devoted to the worship of different forms of Vaikuṇṭha-Nārāyaṇa *i.e.* the ancient Pāñcharatric school.

6. पाद्म संहिता as quoted by *Vedantadesika*, p. 9 :—

तच्चतुर्धा स्थितं शास्त्रं ऋगादिवदनेकधा ।
एकैकं भिद्यते तंत्रं शाखामेदेन भूयसा ॥
प्रथमं मन्त्रसिद्धान्तं द्वितीयं चागमाव्ययम् ।
तृतीयं तन्त्रसिद्धान्तं तुर्यं तन्त्रान्तरं भवेत् ॥

हयशीर्ष quoted in the same, p. 8.

आगमाख्यं हि सिद्धान्तं सन्मोक्षेक फलप्रदम् ।
मंत्रसंज्ञं हि सिद्धान्तं सिद्धिमोक्षप्रदं नृणाम् ॥
तत्रसंज्ञं तु सिद्धान्तं चतुर्वर्ग फलप्रदम् ।
तन्त्रान्तरं हि सिद्धान्तं वांछितार्थं फलप्रदम् ॥

7. नवानामपि मूर्तीनाम्प्राधान्यं यत्रकथ्यते ।
तत्र तन्त्रसिद्धान्ताह्वानं चतुर्थं परमं पुनः ॥ *Pāñcharātrarakshā*, p. 11.

For further details with regards to these cults, see author's "Early Vaishṇava Pantheon" in *JUPHS*, 1952.

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This ceiling sculpture is perhaps the only archæological evidence of the existence of this school and, therefore, it is of great importance for iconography as well as cult history.

APPENDIX

नवमूर्ति विधान

Installation of Nine Images

अथोर्ध्वं नवमूर्तीनां ध्रुवबेरमानं धाम गर्भगृहद्वारस्तम्भयजमानमानांगुलीद्दिष्टमानेन ध्रुवबेराणि कारयेत् । देव्योर्मानं देवस्य बाहुमानं कण्ठसीमान्तं वा तत्समं त्रिपादमर्थं वा पूजकमुनिभ्यां परिवारदेवानां चाकारं यदि तन्मध्यतले विष्णुमादिमूर्ति सिंहासने भोगासनमार्गेण श्रीभूमिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यां युक्तं परमित्तियुगे दक्षिणवामयोर्वन्द्यमानौ चामरचारिणौ किष्किन्धसुन्दरौ च कामिनी व्याजनीभ्यामर्कचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं प्रथमद्वार दक्षिणे तुर्हुणं वामे बलिन्दं द्वितीयद्वारे तापसं सिद्धिदं चैवमादिमूर्ति तस्यालीन्द्रे दक्षिणामुखौ नर-नारायणौ च स्थितौ प्रजापतिशंकरावर्चकमुनिभ्यांमर्कचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं द्वारस्य दक्षिणवामयोश्चक्रचूलिनं शंखूचलिनं च तस्यालीन्द्रे पश्चिमे नृसिंह योगासनमार्गेणासीनं कट्या चोरूबद्धब्रह्मशंकराभ्यामर्चकमुनिभ्यामादित्यचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं द्वारदक्षिण वामयोश्चण्डप्रचण्डाभ्यां सहैव नृसिंहवत् कुर्यात् । तस्यालीन्द्रे चोत्तराभिमुखं वाराहं पूर्ववद् देवस्य दक्षिणे चन्द्रं वामे हलेशं पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांमपरमित्यूर्ध्वमागे सनकसनत्कमारौ चन्द्रादित्यौ द्वारदक्षिणवामयोर्दुर्गा विघ्नेशौ तु कुर्यात् । अधःस्थले प्राच्यां पुरुषं भोगासनमार्गेण देवीभ्यां पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांमपरभित्युर्ध्वमागे श्वेतच्छत्रं दक्षिण वामयोश्चामरधारिणीभ्यां मायासंहलादिनीभ्यां सनकसनत्कुमाराभ्यां चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां च कारयति । प्रथमद्वारे तुर्हणवलिन्दौ द्वितीयद्वारे शंखपद्मनिधौ पूर्वद्वारसोपानस्थल मित्तौ प्रमुखं श्रियं वरणा-मिषेकयुक्तं कारयेत् । दक्षिणे सत्यमूर्ति दक्षिणामुखं देवीभ्यां पूजक मुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांमरमित्यूर्ध्वमागे छत्रं चयाभद्राभ्यां चामरधारिणीभ्यां शुक्रबृहस्पतिभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे नासत्यदण्डौ द्वितीये चक्रशंखचूलिनौ दक्षिणे सोपानस्थलमित्तौ दक्षिणामुखीं वाग्देवीं कारयति ॥

पश्चिमे पश्चिममुखमच्युतं देवीभ्यां पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यां परमित्युर्ध्वमागे छत्रचामरधारिणीभ्यां जयाभद्राभ्यां सूर्यचंद्राभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे गृहजाम्बवौ द्वितीये पद्मशंखनिधौ सोपानस्थलमितौ पश्चिमामुखो मन्मथं कारयेत् । उत्तरे चोत्तराभिमुखमनिरुद्धं देवीभ्यां सहितं रहितं वा पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मेशाभ्यां परमित्यूर्ध्वभागे छत्रचामरधारिणीभ्यां जयापुष्टिकाभ्यां सूर्यचन्द्राभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे विद्युदप्सरसौ द्वितीयद्वारे चक्रशंखचूलिनौ सोपान स्थलमितौ चोत्तराभिमुखं मुद्गलमुनिं च कारयति ॥

एकोनचत्वारिंशः पटलः वैखानसागमः

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MYSORE UNDER RĀJA RĀJA

Dr. M. Sheshadri

We know the exploits of Rāja Rāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) The thirty years of his rule constitute the formative period in the history of Chola Imperialism. A relatively small state at his accession, and hardly recovered from the blows dealt by the Rastrakutas, the Chola kingdom had, by the end of Rāja Rāja's reign been transformed into an extensive Empire. We see the hand of the great king in his organisation of the army, the Civil service, in religion and literature, and Architecture. His campaigns against the Pandyas, Kerala, Ceylon and the western Chalukya king Satyasraya have been set forth in all their details by that brilliant historian of the Cholas, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry. In this short paper, a brief resumé of the political and cultural activities during his reign in Mysore is presented.

In Rāja Rāja's time portions of the Mysore territory variously termed as Gangapadi, Nolambapadi and Tadigaipadi became part and parcel of the Chola Empire. We may take 1004 A.D. as a land-mark in his conquests in Mysore. It was in that year that the Cholas captured Talkad and overthrew the sovereignty of the Gangas. As Dr. Derrett has rightly pointed out, the Hoysalas were gathering strength and power and looking for an opportunity to measure their strength against the Cholas. In 1006 A.D. was fought one of the fiercest battles between the Hoysalas and the Cholas at Kalavur (the modern Kaliyur) on the south-bank of the Kaveri, immediately opposite to the town of Talakad. The great hero on the Chola side was Aprameya, who combined within himself the position of a great minister (Mahāmatya), a feudatory (Sāmanta) and a governor Kotha Mandala Nathan. The epigraph at Kaliyur which constitutes an important historical document on Chola history in Mysore gives a number of titles of Aprameya. He is called "*Malapa Kula Kālam*" a yama to hill-folk. He calls himself a bee at the lotus feet of Rāja Rāja Deva (Srimathu Rāja Rāja Deva pada pankaja bhramaram). Mr. Rice who first read this inscription could not read it completely since the inscribed slab had been embedded into the ceiling of the Gopalakrishna temple. This temple which is a modern

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structure collapsed some time ago, and made it possible for the Department of Archæology to take a new estampage, and thus complete the reading.*

Rāja Rāja's general inflicted a crushing defeat and many generals including Naganna on the Hoysala side met with their death. There is a sculptural representation of this spirited battle at the top of the inscription. The elephants with their uplifted trunks are running away; the horsemen are charging; and arrows are flying helter-skelter. The fruits of Raja Raja's victory paved the way for Chola supremacy in Mysore for nearly a century, and it was lost in 1116 A.D. when Vishnuvardhana's general Gangaraja defeated Adiyama on the sands of Talkad and enabled his master to assume the title of "Talokkadukonden."

The excellent system of administration founded by the Cholas was extended also to the Mysore area. We find village assemblies at work. Marudur, four miles from Yelandur, had the name Panjavanmādevichchaturvedimangalam, obviously named after Panjavanmādevi, one of the queens of Rāja Rāja. Bannur was known as Jananathachchaturvedimangalam. Kudalur in the Channapatna taluk was Rāja Rājachchaturvedimangalam.

The general belief that the Cholas were ardent saivites and did not countenance Vishnu worship is not borne out by facts. In point of fact Rāja Rāja's reign witnessed the construction of many Vishnu temples An inscription at Agara calls him 'Chola Narayana'. The Narayana temple at Malurpatna, Channapatna taluk has two inscriptions of Rāja Raja, both belonging to 1007 A.D. One of them says that in the 23rd year of the king the God of the temple named Jayagondashola Vinnagaralwar was set up. It may be recalled that Jayagondasola was one of the titles of Rāja Rāja. Further, we gather from these two records that the village Manalur had its own assembly and that members of the assembly met and made a grant for the maintenance of the temple.

The Narasimha temple at Marehalli, Malavalli, taluk, has a Kannada inscription where the temple is called 'Rajasraya Virnagaram'. As Rajasraya was the title of Rāja Rāja, we may conclude that the temple was either built by him or during his reign. In 1004 A.D. was built the Janardhana temple at Tadimalangi. One of the inscriptions found on the basement of that temple states that out of the money paid by Periya Kundavai, a sum of 100 Kalanju of gold was given to Vasavagamudan and others of Mayilangi in Idai-nadu who sold their lands to provide

* A descrepancy in the calculation of its date has made Keilhorn to disregard the historical value of this important inscription.

for the daily services of the God Iravakulamannikka Vinnagaralwar. Ravikula mannikka was one of Rāja Rāja's many titles. Periya Kundavai of this record was the elder sister of Rāja Rāja and is different from his daughter who had also the same name. Another inscription on the same temple refers to a sale of 1½ vel. of land to the same temple by some citizens of Madeva chchaturppedi mangalam. It is interesting to note that the custodians of the sale-deeds were the Srivaishnavas of the place. This position accorded to the Srivaishnavas in a record long prior to the birth of Ramanuja would make us infer that Srivaishnavas did exist, and had attained some prominence in the conduct of the affairs of their village even before Ramanuja's time.

Another important Vishṇu temple of Rāja Rāja's time is the Aprameya temple at Dodda-Malur. Obviously, it was constructed by the same Aprameya, who won the battle of Kaliyur, for his master. It is very unlikely that he died in the battle as suggested by Rice and followed by other writers. It is very probable that he built this temple soon after his victory. In 1024, during the 18th year of Rajendra Chola's reign, the members of the great assembly of Rajendrasimha chchaturvedi mangalam made a grant for Aprameya Vinnagaralwar.

Apart from these Vishṇu temples, many Śiva temples were also built during Rāja Rāja' time in Mysore. The Hanumantheśvara temple at Bannur, is a very good example. Kudalur, an important village in Chola times must have had many temples of Śiva belonging to the reigns of Rāja Rāja and his son respectively. Some of the temples, like Rajasimhesvara at the place, have been destroyed but their existence is known to us through epigraphs. There is epigraphical reference to the temple of Rajarajesvara at Talkad. This temple is also no longer in existence. In fact Talkad was known as Rajarajapura. Many of the temples of those days at this place have been destroyed either by human vandalism or swallowed up by the ever advancing sands.

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THE RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS OF MAHĀRĀSHṬRA

DR. V. R. DEORAS

THE Vindhya mountains form the dividing line between Northern and Southern India. This range is mentioned as one of the Kulaparvatas in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.[1] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has rightly explained that each Kulaparvata is associated with a distinct country or tribe.[2] Thus Vindhya is the mountain of the Pulindas, Kishkindhakas and the Śabaras. The river Narmada or Reva takes its rise from the Amarkantak mountains in the present Mandala distirct of Madhya Pradesh. This Amarkantak mountain is the same as the Āmrakuta of Kālidasa's Meghaduta.[3] The river Narmada runs from east to west along the foot of the Vindhya range and enters the sea below Broach in the Bombay state. It is the sacred and important river of Maharashtra and is always mentioned first. In the Brahma Purana it is noticed together with the Mahanadi, Mandakini, Dasarna and Chitrakuta.[4] The river Mahanadi may be easily identified with its modern namesake which flows into the Bay of Bengal. The river Dasarna is the modern Dasan that flows between the Betwa and the Ken.[5] The river Reva or Narmada and the Vindhya range are referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulikesin II[6] and the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman.[7] The river Suktimati is said to be flowing from the slopes of the Vindhya mountains in the Markendaya Purana.[8] A satisfactory identification of this river has not been made. Dr. B. C. Law wrote that 'there is, however, hardly any clue to its definite identification.[9] It is worth suggesting here that it is the present Suktā which rises in the Khandesh district and enters the Burhanpur tahsil.[10] Cunningham has identified the Mandakini with the modern Mandakin,

1. *Bhīshma Parva*, p. 14, v. 11.
   "*Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛikshavānapi, Vindhyaścha Pāriyātraścha saptaite kulaparvatāḥ.*"
2. *Studies in Ind. Ant.*, p. 105.
3. *Meghaduta* (Ed. by Hultzsch), p. 12, v. 17.
4. *Brahma. P.*, p. 76.
5. *Mark. P.*, p. 296.
6. *EI*, vol. VI, p. 6.
7. *CII*, vol. I, p. 154.
8. *Mark. P.*, p. 296.
9. *Geog. Ess.*, vol. I, p. 112.
10. *Nimar Dist. Gaz.*, p. 258.

a tributary of the river Paisuni in Bundelkhand.[11] His suggestion is fully justified by a verse in the Mahabharata, which runs as follows:

> "Tato girivaraśreshṭhe Chitrakūṭe Viśāmpate
> Mandākinīṃ samāsādya sarvapāpapraṇāśinīm."[12]

The Satpura range runs parallel to the Vindhya mountains and is the same as the Rikshavat of the Epics and the Puranas. The name of this mountain is rarely met with in the inscriptions. According to Raychaudhuri, the ancient Hindus usually regarded Vindhya and Riksha as interchangeable terms.[13] The Riksha probably included the present Mahadeva hills of the Hoshangabad district and other minor hills of the Seoni and Nimar districts. The Markandeya Purana relates that the river Tapti, Payoshni, Nirvindhya and Sipra have their sources in the Riksha mountains.[14] The Tapti river flows westwards parallel to the river Narmada and enters the Gulf of Cambay. The Tapti valley provided an easy access to the interior of the country for trading purposes from Surat—the seaport till the seventeenth century; but after that period the silt at the river mouth made it difficult of approach from the sea.[15] The Tapti river was probably important for commercial purposes during the period under review, though there is no direct proof of that.

The river Payoshni has been generally identified with the modern Purna river, which is a tributary of the Tapti. A Payoshni-māhātmya still exists in Berar. It was separated from the river Narmada by the Vaidurya mountains, according to the Mahabharata.[16] The river Nirvindhya in the opinion of Pargiter is the same as the Penganga, a tributary of the river Warda.[17] There is no evidence at all for this identification. A satisfactory identification is the one proposed by Mr. Dey.[18] In his opinion Nirvindhya is the same as the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal. Newuj may be phonetically derived from Nevijja—Naiwidhya. The Vayu Purana gives a slightly different form Nirbandhya.[19] Kalidasa refers to this river in his Meghaduta and places it between Vidisa and Avanti.[20] The Sipra is the famous holy river on whose banks the modern Ujjain stands, and is mentioned by Kalidasa.[21] The Markandeya Purana omits the river Kavery; but it occurs in the

11. *Geog. Dict.* (Dey), p. 124.
12. *Mbh. Vana Parva*, p. 147, v. 58.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 128.
14. Mark. P., p. 299.
15. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 16.
16. Roy's Trans., vol. II, p. 269.
17. *Mark. P.*, p. 299, notes.
18. *Geog, Dict.*, p. 141.
19. *Vayu. P.*, p. 188.
20. *Meghaduta* (Hultzsch), p. 17, v. 28. See also vs. 24 and 30.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 19, v. 31.

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Brahma Purana, according to which it is a river flowing from the Riksha mountains.[22] The Kavery river is the one that joins the river Narmada at Onkara-Mandhata.[23] It should not be confused with its famous namesake that flows through the Tanjore district.

The other rivers associated with the Riksha mountains are Venyā, Nishadhavati and Sinibali or Sinibahu.[24] Venya is the river Wainganga, which rises in the Balaghat district and falls into the Godavari. The Bennakarpara bhāga or division is mentioned in the Sivani copperplates of the Vakataka Maharaja Pravarasena II.[25] As the river Wainganga flows through the Sivani district, the identity of the river Venya or Benna is easily established. The name Nishadhavati naturally suggests a connection with the Nishadha country, and hence is to be located somewhere in Southern Malwa.[26]

The Sahya or Sahyadri range is the northern part of the modern Western Ghats situated between the river Narmada in the north and Kaveri in the south. It also includes several minor ranges penetrating into the heart of Maharashtra ; for instance, the Ajanta range, running through Berar and the old Nizam's Dominions, is called the Sahyadri Parvata. The Sahya is traditionally associated with the Aparantas, *i.e.* the people of Konkan. The Nasik Praśasti of Gautamiputra Satakarni mentions Sahya as one of the mountains over which he claimed lordship.[27]

The rivers flowing along the foot of the Sahya range according to the Vayu Purana are Godavari, Bhimarathi, Krishna, Venya, Vanjula, Kaveri, Tungabhadra and the Suprayoga.[28] The river Godavari rises from a hill near Tryambaka in the Nasik district. About 900 miles in length, it is held sacred in Maharashtra, and is commonly known as the Ganges. The rivers Krishna and Bhimarathi are still known by the same names. The region near the sources of the Krishna and Bhima, *i.e.* the modern Satara district, is really the heart of the Maratha country. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela contains the earliest epigraphic reference to this river and gives us the form Kanha-bemnā.[29] In the Karhad plates of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, dated A.D. 959, the river Krishna is called Kanhavannā, which is clearly a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Krishnavarnā.[30] The river Vena, a

22. *Brahma. P.*, p. 58., vv., 11-12.
23. *Nimar Dist. Gaz.*, p. 240.
24. *Mark, P.*, p. 300.
25. *CII*, vol. III, p. 248.
26. Barnett , *Antiquities of India*, p. 18.
27. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 61.
28. *Vayu P.*, p. 188.
29. *EI*, vol. XX, p. 79.
30. *EI*, vol. IV, p. 286.

tributary of the Krishna, is called Vena or Yenna today.[31] Pargiter has missed the mark by suggesting the identification of Vena with the river Penner.[32] The Vanjula of the Vayu Purana is probably the same as Vanjura of Rajasekhara.[33] It may be suggested that it is to be identified with the modern Manjra river flowing through the Hyderabad State.[34] The Kaveri is sometimes known in literature as Sahya-kanyakā or the daughter of the Sahya mountain. The river Tungabhadra flows into Krishna and is well-known. Bilhana, the Court poet of Vikramaditya the Chalukya king, who lived in the eleventh century, speaks of the river Tungabhadra as 'Dakshiṇāpatha-Jānhavī' or the Ganges of the South.[35]

The name Mahendra is sometimes applied to practically the whole of the Eastern Ghats,[36] but is used chiefly to denote the range of hills in the Ganjam District, where it is known today as Mahendragiri. It is in this sense that the term is used by Kalidasa in his Rahguvamśa, where the Kalinga king is called the lord of Mahendra.[37] The Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yaśodharman tends to support Kalidasa in his view.[38] Another noteworthy mountain is Śriparvata, which has been identified with Sriśaila, situated in the Kurnool district. The Mahabharata informs us that one obtains the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by the worship of Vrishadhwaja or Siva at Śriparvata.[39] Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, is stated in the Talgund inscription to have established himself in the forest stretching to the gates of Śriparvata.[40] Moreover, the kings of the Vishnukundin dynasty are often spoken of as meditating 'on the feet of the holy lord of Śriparvata' in their inscriptions.[41]

Dakshinapatha and the peoples of Maharashtra

The name Dakshināpatha was applied to the region stretching south of the Vindhya Mountains. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar writes that this term was used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmada.[42] But strictly speaking, we cannot regard this definition as accurate, as Avanti and the country around Ujjain, which lies to the north of the river Narmada, was considered by Buddhist writers to be an integral part of Dashināpatha. Thus in the

31. *Bombay Gaz.*, vol. XIX, p. 14.
32. *Mark, P.*, p. 308, notes.
33. *Kavyamumansa*, p. 94 (G.O.S.)
34. *Hyderabad State Gaz.*, p. 8.
35. *Vikramankadevacharita*, p. 38 (Text), V. 62.
36. *Geog. Ess.*, vol. I., p. 97.
37. Canto VI, v. 54.
38. *CII*, vol. III, p. 146.
39. *Vana Parva*, p. 146.
40. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 84.
41. *EI*, vol. XVII, p. 337.
42. *EHD*, p. 1.

Jatakas, Avanti is spoken of as a part of Dakshināpatha.[43] The Mahavastu tells us that a Brahman of Ujjayini (the capital of Avanti) in the Dakshinapatha came from the Himalayas to see the Bodhisattva.[44] Abhinavagupta, writing in the tenth century A.D.[45], seems to have based his definition of a 'Dākshiṇātya' or a resident of the South on the above Buddhist writings. In his opinion the Dākshiṇātya countries are those lying between the Vindhya range and the Southern ocean.[46]

However, the Brahman writers always thought that Dakshinapatha lay to the south of the Narmada. In the Nandampundi grant of Rajaraja I, dated A.D. 1053, Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is said to have ruled over Dakshinapatha which is situated between Rama's Bridge and the Narmada river.[47] The same inscription also relates that there were seven and a half lakhs of villages in Dakshinapatha. A similar term in use was Irattapāḍi.[48] Rajasekhara, the famous Sanskrit writer of the tenth century, regards the river Narmada as the boundary between Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha. His words are: "Yā kila bhagavatī Āryāvarta-dakshiṇāpathayorvibhāgarekhā."[49] In the Natyaśastra of Bharata we come across a definition of Dakshinapatha, where he says that it is the area containing the mountains Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala and Pālamanjara.[50] This agrees with the one given by Rajasekhara in the Kavyamimansa.[51]

The Greek author of the Periplus, writing in the first century A.D., also used the word Dakshinapatha in the same sense. He writes, "Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dakhinabades, for Dakhinos in the language of the natives means 'south'." The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains."[52] He further tells us that all kinds of wild beasts were found in this region. But he does not forget to inform us that many populous nations existed as far as the Ganges, and mentions the two important cities of Paethana, the same as modern Paithana, on the upper reaches of the river Godavari, and Tagara, the modern Ter in the Nizam's Dominions. The Greek Dakhinabades is the exact transliteration of the Prakrit Dakhiṇāvadha.

43. "Dakkhiṇāpathe Avantiraṭṭhe", vol. V. (Text),p. 183.
44. Vol. II, p. 80.
45. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 291.
46. *Natyasastra*, vol. II, p. 208.
47. *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 805.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 94, n. ii.
49. *Balaramayana*, p. 170.
50. Vol. II, p. 208.
51. "Māhishmatyāḥ parato Dakshināpathaḥ", p. 98.
52. *Periplus* (Schoff), p. 43.

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the fifth century A.D., speaks of a country named Dakshina, about which he received some information while at Benares.[53] His ' kingdom of Dakshina ' is probably the same as that of Maharashtra, governed by the great Vakatakas during the period. Dakshina is evidently a shorter form of Dakshinapatha and is of common occurrence in Sanskrit literature.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar remarks that the country of the Pandyas was not included in Daskhinapatha.[54] For this he finds authority in the Mahabharata. The Pandya king whom Sahadeva conquered may have been the one residing in Madhyadeśa. This view gains support from a verse in the Mahabharata, which mentions a Pandya prince who joined the Pandava side, immediately after a Magadha prince.[55] Moreover, it is possible that the passages dealing with the encounter between Sahadeva and a Pandyan king may be corrupt, as the chapter betrays a lack of geographical knowledge and confusion about the exact route of Sahadeva's march. Perhaps Bhandarkar confused the Pandyas of Madhyadesa with those of Dakshinapatha, who are noticed together with the Dravidas, Andhras, Keralas and Kalingas in a later verse.[56]

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar also misunderstood a pasasge in the Vayu Purana, which led him to believe that the valleys of the rivers Narmada and Tapti were not included in Dakshinapatha.[57] The Vayu Purana does not exclude them from its list and notices them together with other rivers like the Godavari, Krishna, Bhima, etc. Again, the same Purana while enumerating the peoples of Dakshinapatha mentions the Mahishakas, Abhiras, Pulindas and Vaidarbhas in its list,[58] who were undoubtedly occupying the territories watered by the rivers Narmada and Tapti.

The Aitareya Brahmana of c. 800 B.C. contains the earliest reference to the peoples of Dakshinapatha. Here we are informed that the sage Viśvamitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhuchchhandas, fifty younger.[59] He placed them all under the supremacy of Madhuchchhandas, but those who were older were not satisfied with the arrangement and migrated to the southern frontiers. The Dasyus namely, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mitibas were descended from them. The story seems to reflect the mixture of Aryan and indigenous blood along the frontires.

53. *Travels of Fa-hien* (Legge's Edn.), pp. 96-97.
54. *EHD*, p. 2.
55. *Udyoga Parva*, p. 25, v. 9.
56. *Sabha Parva*, p. 51, v. 78.
57. *EHD*, p. 2.
58. *Vayu. P.*, p. 189.
59. *Ait. Br.*, (Kieth's Trans.), p. 807.

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It is not difficult to identify the tribes mentioned by the Aitareya. The Andhras are well-known in history and literature. They are now represented by the inhabitants occupying modern Telingana. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Sivaskandavarman tell us that Dhannakada or Bezvada was the centre of the Andhra country.[60] It is interesting to note that a tribe of the name of Andh still exists today in the Yeotmal, Buldana and Akola districts of Berar.[61] The Andh is a low cultivating caste numbering more than 50,000. In Russell's opinion, they are 'a non-Aryan tribe of the Andhra or Tamil country from which they derive their name'.[62]

The Andhra ladies are referred to in two passages of Vatsayana's Kamasutra, and he speaks of a custom by which a newly married damsel among the Andhras was sent to the king's harem on the tenth day with some presents.[63] Bharata remarks that the inhabitants of Dravida, Andhra, Kasi-Kosala, etc., should be painted in black if represented on the stage.[64] The famous temple of Mahadeva called Bhimesvar at Sapta-Godavari is included in the Mahabharata list[65] of sacred spots, and is located by Murari in the 'Andhra-vishaya'.[66]

The Pundras occupied parts of Dinajpur and Rajsahi districts in Bengal. Dr. B. C. Law remarks that the capital of the Pundras must now be definitely identified with Pundanagala (= Pundranagara) mentioned in a fragmentary Mauryan Brahmi inscription.[67] In the Sangali copper-plates of Govinda IV, dated 933 A.D., Paundravardhana is mentioned as the place from which the donee, Kesava Dikshita, is said to have come.[68] Pargiter observes that the Pundras had moved southwards from Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era and established themselves in Chota Nagpur, which is very likely.[69] His view is supported by the Kudlur plates, dated 962 A.D., which state that the Ganga king Rajamalla was victorious over the Andhras, Pundras and Kalingas.[70]

The Sabaras and Pulindas are mentioned in the Matsya and Vayu Puranas as inhabitants of the Southern region.[71] The Mahabharata locates the Pulindas, as also the Vindhyachulikas, in the Dakshina-

60. *PHAI*, p. 64.
61. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. II, p. 88.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Kamasutra* (Bombay Edn.), p. 294.
64. *JASB*, 1909, p. 359.
65. *Vana Parva*, p. 146, v. 44.
66. *Anargharaghava*, p. 302.
67. *Ancient Indian Tribes*, vol. II, p. 16.
68. *IA*, vol. XII, p. 251.
69. *Mark. P.*, p. 329, notes.
70. *M.A.S., A.R.*, 1921, p. 21.
71. *Matsya*, P., 201, v. 48.
Vayu. P., p. 139.

patha.[72] In the sixth century A.D., we find the Pulindas occupying the modern Nagod State. The Navagrama inscription of Maharaja Hastin records the grant of a village in the 'rashtra' of the Pulinda chief.[73] This Pulinda chief was apparently a feudatory of the nripati-Parivrajakas. The mention of 'Pulindarājarāshtra' in the present inscription justifies the inference that the Pulindas should be located within the Parivrajaka dominions, which lay on both sides of the Vindhya range. It is difficult to locate the Sabaras precisely. Tradition says that Rama met a Sabara woman in the Dandaka forest and ate berries out of her hands. The modern village of Sabari Narayan in the Bilaspur District is said to represent this holy spot. If the tradition is correct, the Sabaras were the residents of Dakshina-Kosala, *i.e.* the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.

Mutibas.

The Mutibas are not known to us either from the Epics or Puranic sources. Hence it is difficult to identify this tribe. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has made a valuable suggestion that they should be identified with the Mushikas of the Puranas.[74] The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela mentions the Mushikas.[75] It is possible that they were settled on the banks of the river Musi, a tributary of the river Krishna.[76] Perhaps the Mutibas were a Dravidian people like the Nolambas and Kurumbas of Mysore.

72. *Bhishma Parva*, p. 16.
73. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 126.
74. *JAHRS*, January 1935, p. 1.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

JOKHA, AN IMPORTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SITE IN THE KAMREJ TALUKA, SURAT DISTRICT

DR. R. N. MEHTA

Site :

JOKHA is a small village about six miles to the South of Kamrej, in the Kamrej taluka, Surat District. It could be reached either from Kamrej or from Vāv, a State Transport station on the Surat-Kathor Bus Route. Half a mile to the N.W. of this village, there is a low mound known locally as Gabhāṇa.[1] The mound is now completely under cultivation as such the antiquities from the old smaller mound seem have spread over a wider area. The whole mound occupying roughly an area of 100 metres × 100 metres is covered up by the fields having the survey Nos. 883, 884, 885. In the surrounding flat area of black cotton soil this flat low mound is distinctly marked from a distance by its ashy colour.

According to the information supplied by the local gentry bricks, potsherds and coins were occasionally found from this mound, but upon closer inquiry it was noted that none of these antiquities could be traced from any person in the village. The bricks were used to fill in pits or were crushed and used as concrete for flooring in the residential area. Hence no antiquities that were reported by the local gentry could be studied.

Careful examination of the mound, however, revealed the existence of stone artifacts and pottery. The following antiquities were recovered from the Gabhāṇa at Jokha.

Antiquities :

(1) A fluted core of white chalcedony, showing in parts the original cortex and the natural line of cleavage showing difference in the colour of the stone. The striking platform shows the deep negative scars and the other end shows possibly the evidence of hinge fracture. Most of the flakes were taken on the major axis; but evidence of cross flaking possibly to remove the cortex is also found on one side of it.

1. Gabhāṇa and Gabhāṇio Vago are two terms which often signify the old deserted sites in the Central and Southern Gujarat.

(2) A fluted core of white chalcedony with a large part of the weathered cortex. This core also shows the evidence of flakes taken on the major axis and a few flakes taken on minor axis. The flakes on the latter show battering and not the well-marked punches as on the major axis, suggesting thereby, that the flaking was carried on for removing the cortex.

(3) A core of banded agate, having affinity to Nos. 1, 2.

(4) A core of mottled chert, similar to Nos. 1-3.

(5) A Variant of No. 4.

(6) A core of banded agate which is similar to those described above but is more weathered.

(7) A core of chalcedony similar to the above mentioned cores, but the cortex here is rather large.

(8) A semi-triangular core of mottled agate, with much smaller cortex. Near it are small flakes intended to remove it.

(9) A fragment of a core of carnelian.

(10) A core of banded agate with a large cortex and small flakes are taken from one side of it.

(11) A scraper on a flake of Jasper. Retouch is seen on the side and end of it, hence, it may be termed as 'double side scraper'.

(12) A core-scraper of mottled chert.

(13) An end-scraper on thick flake of banded agate. It shows distinct crystal formation of the raw material.

(13A) An end-scraper on a thin flake of agate.

(14) A parallel-sided flake of agate.

(15) A flake similar to No. 14.

(16) A parallel-sided flake, but curved at one end possibly due to hinge fracture.

(17) A thick flake of chert showing retouch on both sides of the major axis.

(18) A thick broken flake of carnelian.

(19) A thick flake of carnelian.

(20) A broken thick flake of chert.

(21) A thick triangular flake of mottled chert.

(22) A broken piece of agate with flutings and scars on one side, pointing thereby that it may be a broken core.

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Pottery :

Besides these cores scrapers and flakes a number of potsherds were also discovered. Some of these fragments suggest that they are the parts of dish, dish-on-stand, bowls and pots. The following is the description of the sherds that were collected.

(23) A fragment of the junction of a dish and stem. It is a weathered potsherd with red burnished slip seen at a few points on it. The sherd is massive and is well-fired. The parts from where the slip is destroyed are also red colour. It shows strong affinity with the sherds from Mehgam in the Broach District.

(24) A stem of a small dish-on-stand of grey colour.

(25) A small fragment of a bowl having black-burnished slip, gritty core and slightly incurved rim.

(26) A variant of 25.

(27) A large bowl with straight rim. It has red burnished ship in the inner side, the outer side is plain.

(28) A variant of 27 with slightly excurved rim.

(29) A shallow dish with slightly incurved rim, and carination below it; and sagger base. It is a crude ware with burnished black slip on the inner side. It is of grey colour and gritty porous core. This shered is not very old because of its strong affinity with the mediæval form which continues up to this day. It is highly probable that it might have come here along with the manure.

(30) A fragment of an excurved beaded rim with rectangular section. It has well lavigated smoky core and burnished light red slip.

(31) A beaded incurved rim of a red pot with burnished slip and gritty porous core.

(32) A fragment of a pot of unburnished red ware, with beaked rim, and a groove in the inner side.

(33) A variant of 32.

(34) A rim of burnished-black-pot with two grooves on the inner side and strong carination at the neck.

Besides these potsherds there are a few non-descript sherds. One of them (No. 35) is a fine grained, well-brunt potshered of red colour having a design of three oblique lines. The other sherd (No. 36) has seven incised lines on one side whereas on the other side there is a red line running on it. Nos. 37 and 37A are massive like No. 35.

A few sherd of 'Red-and-black ware' are also discovered from this site. One of them (No. 38) seems to be a fragment of a dish while three more are of non-descript nature (39-41).

The other eleven sherds fall into the following varieties :—

(A)	Burnished-black ware (Nos. 42-47) ...	6
(A)	(*i*) A sherd of black colour on outside and blackish-red inside	1
(B)	(*i*) Plain red ware (No. 48)	1
	(*ii*) Red ware with finger-tipped design and incised oblique lines (No. 49)	1
	(*iii*) Thick red ware with fine grained core (No. 50)	1
	(*iv*) Red sherd with grafitti (No. 51) ...	1

Correlation :

The study of the material suggest that the cores from this site have strong affinity with those found from other sites in Gujarat, but the large scrapers are interesting as they resemble those of the stone age series II, but it is highly risky to assign this hoary antiquity to the material from Jokha, hence, in the present stage of our knowledge it is reasonable to assume that this artefact is rather late. Still, however, it is necessary to check up the position of this artefact by a systematic excavation before expressing any definite opinion on the issue.

The pottery from this site also has important implications. The dish-on-stand type (No. 23) and the painted and thick sherds (Nos. 35-37A) have strong affinity to the pottery of the Pre. N.B.P. phase. The existence of the 'Red-and-black ware' along with the above mentioned types suggest that the whole assemblage has some affinity with the chalcolithic cultures of Khandesh, Maharashtra and Malwa on one side and Saurastra on the other.

Some other potsherds (No. 30) and the sherds of burnished-black ware suggest that they are not earlier than the early centuries of Christian era.

Conclusion :

The above correlation and study suggest the existence of a culture with stone tools, painted-pottery, dish-on-stand type, etc. in South Gujarat. It also suggest that this culture has some links with the

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chalcolithic cultures of Maharastra, Malwa and Saurastra that existed before the N.B.P. ware, that is in the early part of the 1st millennium B.C. or in the later part of the 2nd millennium B.C.

It is extremely necessary to systematically excavate the site for a proper study of the material for forging new links, for correlation, and establishment of chronology that would help one to get a clear idea of the culture of South Gujarat before 5th century B.C.

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SOME UNKNOWN FACTS ABOUT BIMBISĀRA

SHRI JNAN CHANDRA

VERY little is known about Bimbisāra, the founder of Magadhan imperial power in the historic period. According to the *Purāṇas*, he belonged to the Śaiśunāga line, which is said to have been founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Aśvaghoṣa refers to him in his *Buddha-charita* as a scion, not of Śaiśunāga dynasty, but of the *Haryaṅka-kula*.[1] He is said to be the son of a petty chief of South Bihar, whose name is given by various late writers as Bhaṭiyo (Bhaṭṭiya, Bodhisa), Mahāpadma, Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetroja or Kshetrauja.[2] It is also said about him that he was anointed king by his own father when he was only fifteen years old.[3]

While this information has been gleaned from Puranic and Buddhist sources, it seems the Jain sources have been altogether ignored by the modern scholars, while these sources throw much more light on the early life of Bimbisāra than anyone else. And here it is proposed to draw attention to some of the facts that are given in Jain literature.

According to *Trishashṭi-śalākā purusha charitra* by Hemachandrāchārya, Bimbisāra belonged to *Vāhīka-kula*. This is disclosed in a conversation between a messenger sent by Bibisara to Cheṭaka, the king of Vesāli, with the proposal for his daughter's hand. Cheṭaka, on hearing the proposal, refuses it on the ground that while his daughter belonged to *Haihaya* family, the messenger's king was of *Vāhīka-kula*,[4]

1. *Buddha-charita*, XI, 2.
2. *C.f.* Ray Chaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 205, f.n. 2.
3. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's trans.), p. 12.
4. चेटकोऽप्य ब्रवीदेवमानात्मज्ञस्तव प्रभु :
   वाहीककुलजीवाऽनन कन्यां हैहय वंशजाम् ॥
   समान कुलयोरेव विवाहो हन्त नान्ययो :
   तत्कन्या न हि दास्यामि श्रेणिकाय प्रयाहि भो: ॥
   Trishashṭi Śalākā Puruṣha Charitra, Parva X, pp. 226-227.

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thereby suggesting that he was of lower social status than that of Cheṭaka. The same is also mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇī*.[5]

We need hardly say that Punjab was called *Vāhīka* in ancient days and according to the *Mahābhārata*, it was the country of five rivers, but was outside the Aryan society (*dharma-bāhya*), devoid of religion (*naṣta-dharma*) and impure (*aśuchi*).[6] This explains what Cheṭaka had replied to Bimbisāra's messenger.

In spite of this social prejudice, we know that Bimbisāra married the daughter of Cheṭaka named Chellanā. So, it seems necessary to point out that after having the refusal from Cheṭaka, Abhaya-kumāra, the son of Bimbisāra by his wife Nandā, managed to abduct Chellanā for his father, according to the above sources.

Bimbisāra's father, whose name was Prasenjit, according to these sources, had carved a small kingdom of his own, near Rājgriha, known as Kuśāgranagara.[7] After that town was destroyed in a fire, Prasenjit built the town of Rājagriha.[8] This name Prasenjit is very much similar to the names Hemajit, Kshemajit, which is given by some other late writers.

Lastly, it is believed that Bimbisāra bore the name or epithet of Seniya or Śreṇika. But the Jain sources inform us that his real name was Śreṇika and he was later called *Bhambhasār*, for the reason that he preferred to take a *Bhambha* musical instrument, while coming out of the town under fire, which he considered to be the prime insignia of victory and it should be saved above all.[9]

5. तं अणति चेडओ—कहञ्हं पाधिय कुलए देमित्ति
Avasyaka-Chūrni, Vol. II, page 164-165.

6. *Mahabharata, Karna parva* 44.7.32.

7. इतच्चात्रैव भरते कुशाग्रपुर पत्तने ।
कुशाग्रीयमतिरभूत प्रसेनजिदिलापतिः ॥१॥
Trishashṭi Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Chap. VI.

8. ततो राजगृहं नाम तत्रैव नगरं नृपः ।
चक्रार परिरवाक्प्रचैत्यसौधाट्टवन्धुरम् ॥११७॥
Trishashti Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

9. सर्वे कुमारा हस्त्यादि समादाय यथारुचि ।
निर्ययुः श्रेणिकस्त्वेकां भंभामादाय निर्ययौ ॥१०९॥
ततश्चैवं महेच्छत्व प्रसनः पृथिवीपतिः ।
श्रेणिकस्य ददौ भंभासार इत्यपराभिधाम ॥११२॥
Trishashti Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

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The Jain sources support the Buddhist information that Bimbisāra was anointed by his father. Here we are told that his father fell suddenly ill and he called Bimbisāra and handed over to him the kingdom.[10]

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10. माऽन्या तातस्य रोगार्तेर्मंदर्तिभूंदिति द्रुतम् ।
उष्ट्रीं श्रेणिकमारुह्य ययौ राजगृहं पुरम् ॥१३७॥
तं दृष्ट्वा मुदितो राजा हर्षनेत्राम्बुभिः समम् ।
राज्येऽभ्यषिञ्चद्विमलैः सुवर्ण कलशांबुभिः ॥१३८॥
Trishashti Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

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PAONI, A CENTRE OF CULTURE

SHRI G. LANDGE

(Summary)

IT is believed that Paoni, a town in Bhandra District of former C.P. but now of Bombay State, is a town of hoary memories. The writer has been able to trace it to 400 years on documentary evidence and the relics and particularly the mound reserved by Archæological Department for excavation disclose facts which may corroborate the probable conclusion that Paoni has been once the capital of Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Even as it is, Paoni has a heritage of culture and civilization which has in no small degree contributed to the cultural advancement of Nagpur Province. The clue to the antiquity of Paoni has been found in the old manuscripts of Dasaputra family of Paoni and the original letter of Balkrishna Pant Dasaputra written above 180 years ago has thrown some light on the proposition.

1660

ORIGIN OF THE PRATIHĀRAS

SHRI D. P. SHARMA

(Summary)

SCHOLARS are evenly divided on this question. Some hold them to be indigenous people, while the others trace their origin from a foreign tribe. The writer of this paper has found, after an examination of epigraphical references and some new evidences, such as the Kalki incarnation story of the Brahmanic Puranas, Kalki Raj story of the Jain works, and some stray stories of Skanda Purāṇa, that the Pratihāras were the outcome of a Brahmanic revival which swept India, soon after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, under the leadership of Kalki (Vishnu Vardhana) son of Yash (Yasodharman).

The progenitor of the Pratihāras Saumitra (Gwalior Inscription), who was also known as Manu or Manu (Kalki Purāṇa), was a leader of a Brahmana army, which hailed from Kalāpa Grāma celebrated as the abode of illustrious Brahman's somewhere near (Vindu Sar). He traced his genealogy from Sumitra, the last King of the Ikshvāku Dynasty, who had migrated to that land after being expelled, in the Fifth century B.C. He was a lieutenant of Kalki in his conquests and has worked as a Pratihāra in a sacrifice performed by Yaśo Vikrama (Yaśo dharman Vikramāditya) which name occurs in Jodhpur Inscription of Bauka. He was the progenitor seed and the Manu of the Ikshvāku Dynasty of the new Krita Age after the fall of the house of Kalki (Vishnu Vardhana).

ERAS IN MITHILA

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR

(*Summary*)

MITHILA OR TIRHUT (North Bihar) has been an important ancient seat of learning since time immemorial. There has been a constant flow of ideas in the land from outside world which has influenced and, to a great extent, moulded the daily life of the people in all spheres. The history of the origin and spread of the eras has been likewise the history of the intermingling of cultures and ideas springing and borrowing from one another. Like the rest of India there have been many eras prevalent in Mithilā, but it is difficult to determine as to when and how these eras got their way into the land. It is true, Mithilā's contributions in the sphere of learning and culture have been immense, but it is also true, that no era was ever introduced by Mithilā rulers either in ancient times or in the mediæval period. It is yet a matter of speculation and nothing conclusive can be said in the present state of our knowledge.

As regards the eras prevalent in Mithilā the L. S. and the Śaka era gained the widest popularity amongst the Maithila scholars and the common people. It would be no exaggeration to say that in course of time they came to be reckoned as the national eras of the Maithilas. Next to these, in point of popularity and recognition, comes the Vikrama Samvat, associated with the name of the legendary king Bhoja of Dhārā. The importance of the era can be judged from the fact that it came to be invariably mentioned side by side with the L. S. and the Śaka eras by the Maithila Scholars in almost all their works and day-to-day correspondence.

The Fasli San introduced by Akbar, came to be widely recognised by the Mithilā Scholars partly because of the patronage they received from the Emperor and partly because of the grant of the kingdom of Mithilā to Mm. Maheśa Ṭhākura the founder of the Khandavata dynasty of Mithilā (1556-1951 A.D.) of which the present Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga is a distinguished scion. In the present paper, therefore, an attempt has been made to throw light on the origin and introduction of these eras in Mithilā on the basis of available materials.

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NATURE OF THE ORIGINAL PURĀṆA

DR. S. D. GYANI

(*Summary*)

A CRITICAL study of the Puranic literature reveals the various stages of development through which it passed before it assumed its complicated form. The earliest reference to *Purāṇa* as a literary composition occurs in the *Atharva Veda*, where it is mentioned along with *RK*, *Saman chhandas* and *Yajus* and is also associated with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā* and *Nārāśaṁsi*. The term *Purāṇavid* also occurs in the same Veda in the sense of a person well-versed in the Puranic lore. In most of the earlier references, the word *Purāṇa* is used in singular and not in plural as at a later stage. This suggests that the *Purāṇa* in its original form was one, embodying epic narratives, genealogies etc. as references to Puranic literature in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads clearly indicate.

A critical study of the dialogue hymns in the *Ṛgveda* reveals that from the early Vedic times, there existed certain popular epic narratives embodying the account of mythological and historical heroes. The epic narrative regarding Pururavas and Urvaśī is to the point, the metrical portion of which occurs in the *Ṛgveda* and the narrative as a whole is adopted in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and later on, in the *Purāṇas*.

The Ṛgvedic hymns embodying *Dāna-stuti* preserve the memories of some important and glorious Kings, who were liberal to their singers. There may have existed several such songs as frequent references to *Gāthā* in the Vedic and the Brahmanic literature clearly point out. The earlier genealogical lists of the extant *Purāṇas* may, in substance, be traced to the Ṛgvedic age as may be ascertained from the Ṛgvedic references to the Purāṇic kings and sages. Several illustrious kings of the *Purāṇas* find a mention in the Vedic literature.

From the earlier Vedic period *Akhyana Gāthā*, *Nāraśaṁsi*, *Dānastuti* as also the genealogies of old kings and sages existed in society, preserved by the professional persons. These must have gradually supplied material for the original *Purāṇa*, which had attained a definite literary form by the time of the *Atharva-Veda*, or perhaps even earlier. But it was still confused with *Itihāsa* till the period of the *Upaniṣads*.

Thus, as a result of a close study and examination of the references to Purāṇic literature in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, it may be inferred that the original *Purāṇa* was one and comprised old *Ākhyāna*, genealogies etc.

A NOTE ON ANCIENT BENGAL–SHIP–BUILDING, SEA VOYAGES AND CULTURAL CONTACT

Dr. B. K. Majumdar

(Summary)

The paper seeks to examine ancient Bengal's part in colonial expansion in the light of its geographical conformation, maritime activities and cultural trends.

THE PLACE OF ŚVETAKETU IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIAN THOUGHT

PROFESSOR SADASHIV ATHAVALE

Summary)

THE Upanisadic period was one of remarkable intellectual activity. Knowledge of ब्रह्मन् (Brahman) was the pursuit of high and low alike. And almost everybody, whether he was a Brahmin like Yājñavalkya or a Kshatriya like Janaka, had a very presumptuous claim to make that he and he alone knew the truth. The tireless zeal of the Upanisadic thinkers should certainly command our respect. Yet respect for the effort of a thinker need not mean any acceptance of his methods or conclusions. A close survey of the philosophical literature of that period makes it quite clear that there was hardly any method worth the name in the Upanisadic inquiries. The thinkers do not seem to be insisting on logical consistency in their expressions. One may make note of an extraordinary intellectual ability of elemental thinking markedly seen in some of the Upanisadic expositions; and yet one must not fail to see a considerable amount of rant therein.

Śvetaketu, of the 7th or 8th century B.C., presents himself as an honestly puzzled philosopher in the galaxy of the bigots of his age.

We meet the real intellectual, the thinker, in Śvetaketu in his disputes with a number of masters of his time. Śvetaketu was, as a rule, defeated in every debate. Chitra asked Śvetaketu, 'What is the fruit of sacrifice? Is it Heaven or worldly prosperity?' 'I do not know,' was the reply from Śvetaketu. Śvetaketu had been to the assembly of the Pañchālas. The king, Pravahana Jaivali, asked him, 'Do you know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' 'I do not know,' said Śvetaketu. And the answer was the same to every question put thereafter. Janaka mocks at Śvetaketu; Yājñavalkya fools him. What do all these defeats mean? Why should this young man of recognised merit always run away from the Seminars? Why did he keep saying that he did not know? It only means that he had absolutely no regard for metaphysical thought.

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The learned young Śvetaketu rather confused and unsettled in the field of philosophy was, nevertheless, very clear and emphatic in his views on social institutions like marriage. He thought that human beings could be distinguished from animals only by a social order. Unrestricted sex relations could not be visualised in that order. Full faith and undivided loyalty should be the basis of marital life.

A close scrutiny of the Śvetaketu Jātaka, with a discount for Bodhisattva's part therein, reveals that Śvetaketu had seen the meaninglessness of the Varṇa institution. The Jātaka also tells that he gave up ascetic life and entered the service of the king of Benares.

A materialistic school of Indian philosophy, known variously as the Cārvāka, the Bārhaspatya, the Nāstika and the Lokāyata Darśana can be traced from the sixth century B.C. Śvetaketu's negation of metaphysics, affirmation of social philosophy together with his preference for erotics and administrative service take him very close to the Lokāyata system. The scanty information available cannot lead us to any definite conclusions; and yet there are quite good reasons that tempt us to take Śvetaketu as one of the pioneers of the intellectual revolution of the Cārvākas in Ancient India.

Sources :

(१) शतपथब्राह्मण (२) गोपथब्राह्मण (३) सांख्यायन श्रौतसूत्र
(४) आपस्तंबधर्मसूत्र (५) कठोपनिषद् (६) बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
(७) छांदोग्योपनिषद् (८) कौषितव्युपनिषद् (९) महाभारत
(१०) वात्स्यायन कामसूत्र and जयमङ्गला (११) श्वेतकेतु जातक.

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REPRESENTATIONS OF THE BUDDHIST DEITIES TRAMPLING HINDU DEITIES

Dr. B. P. Sinha

(*Summary*)

There are certain Buddhist deities such as Aparājitā, and Trailokya-vijaya who have been represented in images as trampling Hindu deities specially Gaṇeśa and Siva-Pārvatī. So far no satisfactory explanation of such aggressive Buddhist images, tremendously provoking to the Hindus, has been reasonably put forward. In this paper an attempt has been made to explore the background of such a very strange feature of the usually tolerant religious history of the country.

It is interesting to note that there are certain representations of Hindu deities showing superiority over or contempt against some other important deities of the Hindu Pantheon. In the Purāṇas the rivalry among various Hindu sects often takes a very unbecoming turn. There are some iconographic representations of such unhealthy rivalry *e. g.* Śiva as Śarabha trampling on Vishṇu in the form of Nṛisiṁha. But there appears to be some evidence to suppose that in such a movement the Buddhists did not lag behind.

Buddhism had started as a reformist movement protesting against dogmatism and ritualism of Brahamanism. In course of time the character of Buddhism underwent very important changes. Introduction of the worship of images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas provided fruitful scope of imagination to the artists. The development of Tantricism, which enormously enlarged the Buddhist pantheon, introduced numerous new features in Buddhist Iconography. The significance of a critical study of Iconography does not lie only in increasing our knowledge about the distinguishing features of the deities of the particular religious sect concerned, but also in understanding the spirit of relationship between the different sects of the time.

It is beyond dispute that a benevolent spirit of religious toleration and mutual understanding as a whole prevailed in ancient India. Different religious sects flourished side by side and freedom of religious propaganda and proselytisation prevailed on the whole. Asoka's clarion

call to adherents of one sect to honour other sects was generally accepted. The most religious and humanist king had proclaimed that one who honours one's own sect and disparages other sects harms his own religion ; while one who honours other sects contributes to the glory of his own sect. Historically speaking, this remained the basic feature of the policy of Indian kings and religious communities.

This salutary atmosphere led to mutual impact of one religion and its philosophy, ritual and iconography on other religions. So far as the actual antiquities discovered so far are concerned, they are first Buddhists in point of time. Later, with the development of Bhakti cult numerous Hindu images came to be created for worship. Hindu iconography became at once very varied and extensive. In course of time with the increase in the Mahayanist pantheon and its development of Tantricism we find numerous Buddhist deities taking over the form and attributes of Hindu gods and goddesses.

In such a background it becomes necessary to explain the presence of Buddhist deities like Aparājitā and Trailokyavijaya. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that such representations are very few and that they belong to Tantrik pantheon. Stylistically, these sculptures in stone or bronze belong to a much later period, say from the 9th or 10th century A.D. These sculptures are also found in Magadha, in Nālandā and Gayā (Kurkihāra) religion. Kurkihāra and Nālandā bronzes belong to the same period. Some special reasons must have been there to bring out such representations. As I pointed out above, free competition prevailed between different religious sects. From the advent of the Gupta rule Hinduism was marching ahead as the dominant religion in the country and in spite of religious toleration policy of the rulers Buddhism was declining. This naturally sharpened the edge of rivalry and competition. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarāchārya waged a highly intellectual war on Buddhist philosophy and faith. The University of Nālanḍā and Odantapuri and later Vikramaśilā continued to bring out philosophical treatises, often in rejoinder to Hindu philosophical treatises largely produced in Mithīlā, in north Bihar. This vigorous intellectual and scholastic rivalry going on in ancient Bihar among Buddhists and Brahamins, largely Śaivas in faith, was bound to have some reaction on popular mind, artists and worshippers. In this sectarian rivalry which sometimes took unhealthy turn the Śaivas appear to have taken the lead. Mihirakula who was a convert to Śaivism had ordered a general persecution of Buddhism and it was one of the factors which led Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya to raise his head against the Hūṇa chief. It was again a Śaiva king Śaśāṅka who on making himself master of Magadha carried on many anti-Buddhist activities in Magadha, including the uprooting of the Bo-Tree and the throwing of the sacred stone with Buddha's footprint at

Pāṭaliputra into the Ganges. It has been also mentioned by Yuan Chwang that in order to save Buddha's image the Buddhist priest at Bodhgaya had installed Śiva's image in front of the Buddha's image and thereby hiding it from view in order to escape Śaśāṅka's vandalism. The fact that most of such images showing insult to deities of other sects even in the fold of Hinduism are Śaivistic in character, such as Śarabha and Liṅgodhava images, only emphasize the zealous, jealous and aggressive character of Śaiva movement. The particularly unkind attitude of the Śaivas towards the Buddhists is expressed at many places in the Purāṇas, specially in the Saura and Liṅga Purāṇas. The aggressive rivalry between the Buddhists and the Śaivas continued down to the Muslim conquest of Bihar. Bharmasvāmi of Tibet who visited India, particularly Magadha and Tirabhukti in 1234-36 A.D., refers to certain interesting facts. When the Muslim contingents raided Nālandā the head of Nālandā with other monks had hid himself in a Śaiva temple. When Bodhgayā was in imminent danger of invasion by the Turks, the Buddhist monks fled away after putting an image of Śiva and hiding the Buddhist image.

All these facts appear to suggest the existence of deep antagonism between the Buddhists and the Śaivas in ancient Bihar. It also appears that the trend towards unhealthy expressions or expositions by some Buddhists were results of provocations by the Brahamanical opposition, specially Śaiva's aggressive history. But it is important to note that I have not come across any representation from Bihar showing insult by Hindu deities to Buddhist deities. The explanation might lie in the fact that Hinduism was already very predominant in this part of the country, especially under the patronage of the Senas and the Gāhaḍvālas. Some Buddhists therefore might have, in a spirit of angry frustration, adopted such unbecoming policy in exhibiting such provocative images as Aparājitā and Trailokyavijaya. But this attitude was bound to have disastrous results. According to Tāranātha the Nālandā monastry was burnt by Brahamins performing sacrifices and throwing fire inside the monastery.

AN UNIQUE ANTIQUITY FROM SOJITRA (DISTRICT KAIRA)

PROF. ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI

(*Summary*)

A LOW polished and mutilated human head (about 8" in height) of bluish dark sandstone, recovered from the bottom of a staired tank (Kuṇḍa) from Sojitra, is housed by the efforts of Shri B. D. Patel, Vice-Chancellor, S. V. University, in the Museum of Archæology, Vallabh Vidyanagar. The exquisite features and the soft round face of the subject encased in stone the thrill of the beauty and the effortless suppression of the natural smile of a young charming maiden. The impact of the unrelished youth on the mental waywardness of a female physical maturity has blended into her person an artistic compound, at the same time both highly innocent as well as powerfully inviting. A turban of one horizontal band with three vertical feather-like strips, supported by an irregular wheel with inner spikes, rests delicately but securely on her head to enhance the beauty of her round face, sweetened by a slightly pointed chin. The monotony of horizontal rolled band of the head-dress has been relieved by obliquely incised linear decoration. The cheeks of the lady are prominent and her ear lobes specially artistic. The nose, true to the physiognomy characteristic of such a figure, is both flat and depressed. The opening of the mouth, delicate and normal, has a beam of joy, reminiscent of the touch of Eros. Here is a true specimen of a female face, beautiful, mature, lively, delicate and powerfully seductive, animated in conception and perfect in execution.

Time :

Positively speaking, the stylistic medium of the facial expression, the low polish, the simplicity of the head-gear compared with the Bharhut specimen, and, to some extent, the high cheeks, and negatively speaking, the absence of both the high polish and the perceptible insistence of the Persian naturalism, fix the time of this female face in the later Aśokan period though this limit *might*, through permissible latitude, be extended upto the early Śuṅga era. Shri A. V. Pandya's fixation of this piece in *cir.* I–II century A.D. is wrong both in conclusion and methodology.

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SECTION II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K. S. Lal

Friends,

I am deeply beholden to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over the Medieval History Section of this session of the Congress. It is no mere formality when I say this. In the past this chair has been honoured by many renowned scholars, including two of my revered professors, Dr. Tara Chand and Dr. B. P. Saksena, and it is with great diffidence that I now occupy it. However, I hope to do my duty by this high office, not because of any claim to scholarship on my part, but because of the encouragement and co-operation you have extended to me.

When the General Secretary of the Indian History Congress wrote to me about the venue of this session, I was reminded of a very significant fact of our nation's history which north Indian students are generally prone to forget. It was here on the Malabar coast that Islam had first appeared in India, not as a result of conquest but in the wake of peaceful vocations of trade and commerce. Commercial intercourse between India, Arabia, Iran, Palestine and Egypt goes back to very ancient times. With the rise of Islam this movement had gained a fresh life. The Arabs were a seafaring people, and naturally they took a very active part in the commerce between the east and the west. From the seventh century onwards, Arabian and Persian traders settled in large numbers at different ports on the western coast of India. These settlements were specially large and important in Malabar, where it seems to have been the policy of the kings to afford every encouragement to traders. Hajjaj's persecutions drove many people out of Iraq. Most of them settled down on the western coast from Konkan to down south upto Cape Comorin. Early in the ninth century the king of Malabar, Cheraman Perumal, embraced Islam and adopted the name of Abdur Rahman Samri. In his time a number of mosques were erected on the Malabar coast. The Zamorin of Calicut even went so far as to encourage the lower castes of Hindus to embrace Islam in order to enable them to man his ships on voyage to far-off lands. Under the tolerant patronage of Zamorin, Arab traders settled in large numbers

in South India. The Arab geographer Mosaūdī, who visited India in the early years of the tenth century found over ten thousand Muslims of Middle Eastern towns living at Seymore (modern Chaul), besides many others who were children of Arabs born there. Islam is a proselytising religion, and wherever Muhammedans went they converted. In later centuries there is the testimony of Ibn Said, Ibn Haukal, Marco Polo and Ibn Battutah about the peaceful settlements of Muslims in southern India. Early in the fourteenth century when Malik Kafur carried Muslim arms into the south, he found a large number of Muslims in the service of Hindu Rajas. This spirit of tolerance never leaves the people of the south. Deva Raya II of Vijayanagar employed a large number of Muslims in his armed forces. In deference to their religious feelings he always kept a copy of the Quran before his throne and used to show it due respect. From the beginning of the Arab immigration in the seventh century all through the centuries following, we find a brotherly feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims of Southern India.

I sometimes wonder how different our approach to Medieval Indian History would have been had our history books begun with the study of Arab immigration in the south in place of Arab invasion of Sindh, with the story of Muslim Commerce and coloniastion in place of Muslim conquest. However, we cannot change over and start the study of medieval Indian history from the south just to make believe that all was well with Muslim conquest or rule in India. In northern India Islam was introduced in as bad a way as any religion could possibly be. The motives of the conquerors were undoubtedly mundane, but from Mahmud of Ghazna to Amir Timur all the conquerors and not a few rulers had proclaimed, and their chroniclers had confirmed, that they were determined to spread Islam in this land through all the means at their command. Their attitude could not but have left a bad impression on the minds of the people about the great religion of Islam. The Hindus, perhaps more than any other people in the world, have given more time and thought to religious speculation and study of religious philosophy, but the Hindu intellectual did not study Islam. So far as I am aware, there is no commentary on the Quran or the Hadis by a Hindu of the Medieval period. It cannot just be due to Hindu arrogance or a feeling of superiority of their own faith to which Alberuni refers, but also certainly due to the disgust in which the Hindu held the Muslim conquerors and everything about them. The nature of Muslim conquest need not be lamented here. It is writ large on the pages of history and the disfigured sculptures of the few remaining shrines in the country. The nature of Muslim conquest had stunned the Hindu completely in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The nature of Muslim rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had made him depressed and dejected. His pride was gone. He was sullen and sad.

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At the same time he had become understanding. He had been impressed by the simplicity and directness of the teaching of Islam.

On the other hand perennial Hindu resistance had proved the hollowness of Muslim conquest by the sword. This fact is clearly borne out by Timur's catastrophic invasion. Timur had claimed to destroy idolatry in this country, but the effects of his invasion were just the opposite. His visitation not only dealt an irreparable blow at the Muslim Sultanate of Hindustan, but also gave the Hindus a chance to recuperate. Never had the Hindus felt so strong ever since Muhammad Ghori's invasion, as after Timur's invasion. While by the living together of the two—Hindus and Muslims—the Hindu had come to learn that there were other religions besides his, the Muslim by the close of the fourteenth century had come to learn that it was beyond his power to show " the light of the Shariat " to the infidels in any very large numbers. He too had seen the goodness and greatness of the people of the country, even if he had not read Alberuni or Amir Khusrau. The arrogance of the Hindu was gone during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that of the Muslim by the beginning of the fifteenth. Both were ready to meet each other, and both sat at the feet of masters like Kabir and Nanak to learn that their quarrels were futile and in the ultimate analysis the essence of all religions was but the same.

Gentlemen, even in the deepest darkness light persists. In the politically inglorious record of the fifteenth century the Indian nation was emerging with a new outlook and vitality, and no rulers could have been better fitted than the Mughals to nurture this sapling of a resurgent nation. The history of the Mughals reads like a romantic story. Any nation in any age would be proud of the galaxy of rulers it brought to the forefront. And yet one fact stands out clear; and it is that even in this great and glorious age, Akbar's Din-i-Ilhai did not meet with the success it promised, and an Alamgir succeeded over a Dara Shikoh: Was Dara's defeat only a military defeat? I am afraid, perhaps not. Aurangzeb had repeatedly proclaimed that Dara was a heretic, and Alamgir's policy undid most of the work of those who had tried to weld the people of India into one nation from Ramanand to Akbar.

The services of the fifteenth-sixteenth century saints were of no mean order. However, looking retrospectively, we find that they could not unite the Hindus and the Muslims into one nation, although they spared no efforts to do so. People of the two faiths listened to their behests, followed their teachings, but then continued to cling to their religions tenaciously and continued to quarrel over petty matters. On the death of Kabir there was a quarrel between his Hindu and

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Muslim followers about the disposal of his body. The story repeated itself on Nanak's death. In days to come if there was an Akbar in India, there was an Abdul Qadir Badaoni also; if there was a Dara Shikoh, there was an Aurangzeb too. The division of India and the creation of Pakistan (whatever the part played by the divide-and-rule policy of the British Government) point to the painful fact that centuries of history and the association of the people of the two faiths could not weld India into one nation. There was, therefore, something wanting in the approach of our socio-religious reformers.

Perhaps it was in the fifteenth century that a cry for Hindu-Muslim unity was first raised with any forceful voice and in so many quarters. —by Nanak in the west, by Kabir in Madhya Desa and by Chaitanya in the east. It was well received too. People had hailed it, Babur had appreciated it (when he had met Nanak at Aminabad) and Akbar had worked upon it. Therefore, the work of these reformers was unique and deserves all praise. But it lacked in one major sphere. The audience of these reformers generally comprised low class people whose lot they had sought to improve. The high caste privileged classes seem hardly to have paid any serious attention to them. They even suspected their motives and some pandits and Mullas appealed to Sikandar Lodi to put a stop to the activities of Kabir, which the king did. Now, if an idea or an appeal which is meant for everybody reaches or influences only a certain section or sections of the people, it does not succeed in its mission. This is what seems to have happened with the appeal of the saints of the Medieval period.

When Akbar took up the same mission, he started the other way round. His appeal was confined to the nobles and high officials of the state. He would not admit all and sundry into his cosmopolitan society of the Din-i-Ilahi. In fact he made a searching investigation before admitting one into the fold of his Divine Monotheism. He failed to impress the teeming millions of his countrymen, for his message hardly reached them.

In ancient times when Gautama the Buddha had attacked the evils current in his day, he had met with resounding success. It was because his message had an appeal for all sections and strata of society. Perhaps after Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi was the only thinker and reformer whose message reached all sections of the Indian people. His success too has had no parallel.

We know, however, that even Mahatma Gandhi failed in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, for Pakistan was created in spite of his message of goodwill and amity. We are too close in time to Mahatma Gandhi to be able to objectively assess the success or otherwise of his

mission. However, it may be remarked that all efforts during the last six centuries in bringing about complete unity on the basis of religion between the Hindus and the Muslims have not been quite successful. It is perhaps because the followers of each religion have been taught to stick to their "own God" rather too closely, and to use Alberuni's phraseology people have been kept under the "thraldom of priestly tricks." A news item under *Delhi Day by Day* in the *Hindustan Times* of the 28th September, 1958, would bear me out. I shall quote it verbatim.

> "Yesterday was Id-i-Milad.....
>
> A reporter who evidently got to the Jama Masjid too late broke into a group of his friends to announce his discovery. "Today," he declared with confidence, "is not Id." Another, wiser without having stirred out of his house, observed in all seriousness: "Of course, it is not. Who told you it was?" He pronounced it was in all probability Good Friday. This provided provocation for a third to intervene. "How can that be?" he said somewhat diffidently. "I thought that was on Sunday." A fourth said it was something else, and a fifth, obviously orthodox and religious, was more emphatic. "I am sure it is Anant Choudas." A sixth was prevented from pronouncing his verdict by a newcomer to the group who declared it could be either Anant Choudas or Id-i-Milad."

The above press report shows at once that for the common man there is hardly any difference between Anant Choudas and Id-i-Milad, between Sivaratri and Shab-i-Barat and Good Friday, but for the priestly "tricks." It is because of these that religions have divided us. Because of this I have come to the conclusion that if in our study of Medieval Indian History emphasis is shifted from political wars and religious differences to our cultural synthesis, we would be living in a better world today. A nation's culture is its proud heritage, and so is India's. If Indians have failed to unite on the religious plane, they have all along possessed a common composite culture.

Although to study Medieval Indian History with a view to achieving unity smacks of motivation, it is an object worth striving for. For while the historian of today can remind mankind of its debt to the past, yet his main responsibility is to the future. Today we are the Jury, tomorrow we ourselves will be judged. Today we can advise Alauddin, Muhammad Tughlaq and Alamgir as to how they should have acted in the best interests of the country, but let posterity not accuse us of not having learnt a lesson from our past. Centuries of history has taught us that we have not been able to unite on the basis of religion.

Our history again has proved that disunity has been our greatest enemy. I dare say that if we cannot achieve unity through religion, let us try other avenues. And I think that the study of our nation's history in its all comprehending cultural aspects, is the answer.

I need hardly remind this learned audience that the same has not always been done. The older historians who over-rated war were blind to other forces and movements, silent in operation but far-reaching in effect. Those who were witnesses of the grandeur of the Roman Empire hardly knew that the movement of the Jewish rebel Jesus would one day conquer the whole world. Similarly those who heard of the crash of Constantinople and thought it would change the face of the world, hardly heard the click of the printing machine which Guttenburgh was developing. But while the fall of Constantinople is only a matter of memory, the Printing Press is a living force. The same is happening with the study of our Medieval history. The annals of Medieval India are replete with accounts of wars. We have shifted these wars from the field of battle to the field of History. The only difference is that today the Hindu historian is on the offensive : he is the accuser. The Muslim is on the defensive : he is an apologist. This war, you will agree with me, must come to an end. We must learn to view the events of medieval India in their true perspective, and discover what has been of value to the progress of our nation from that which is less important, if more picturesque.

I thank you once again for the honour you have done me, and also for your indulgence in giving me a patient hearing.

HISTORICITY OF SAṀYOGITĀ THE HEROINE OF THE PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSO

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

THE chief arguments advanced against the historicity of Saṁyogitā can, in brief, be given as follows :—

1. Saṁyogitā is not mentioned in the *Rambhāmāñjarī*, a play by Nayachandra Sūri (written c. 1403 A.D.) which has Jayachandra of Kanauj as its hero and describes his qualifications and achievements in nearly two pages.
2. Saṁyogitā is not mentioned also in Nayachandra Sūri's poem, the *Hammīramahākāvya*, which deals with the Chauhān hero Hammīra of Raṇthambhor and his ancestors.
3. The details of Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara* and marriage with Pṛthvīrāja III are too romantic to be true.[1]

But the writers who advance these arguments should first see whether their authorities are really reliable. They have to think also of the nature of the evidence they have. All that the *Rambhāmañjarī*, for instance, says about Jayachandra of Kanauj can be boiled down to this much :—

(*a*) That he was a scion of the Ikṣvāku family.

(*b*) That his arms served as an elephant's post for Madanavarman's goddess of fortune.

(*c*) That he was a son of Malladeva and Chandralekhā.

(*d*) That he bore the designation *dalapaṅgula* on account of the immensity of his forces.

Of these the first three statements cannot be substantiated; the last one may be true, because he is given a similar designation in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. Gāhaḍavāla records do not describe Jayachandra

1. The above arguments were advanced by Dr. G. H. Ojha (*vide Ojhā-nibandha-saṅgraha*, vol.II, pp. 78-112) and have been repeated, without anya ttempt at their critical assessment, by most subsequent writers on the historicity of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*.

and his ancestors as solar Kṣatriyas. The line actually is said to have come into existence when the solar line had disappeared.[2] Their modern representatives in the Uttar Pradesh regard themselves as lunar Rājpūts.[3] Madanavarman, the Chandel ruler of Jijhotī, passed away before 1165 A.D. How could then Jayachandra, who succeeded to the throne of Banaras and Kanauj in 1170 A.D., be described as doing anything to buttress or destroy Madanavarman's prosperity? A way out of the difficulty would perhaps be to assume that the reference is to one of Jayachandra's exploits as a *yuvarāja*, but this too is ruled out by the fact that Jayachandra's installation as a *yuvarāja* took place on the 16th June, 1168 A.D.,[4] *i.e.* nearly three years after Madanavarman's death. Jayachandra's father is said to have been some Malladeva. Gāhaḍavāla records, however, state that he was the son of Govindachandra's son, Vijayahcandra. If it be assumed that Malladeva was one of Vijayachandra's titles, should not one enquire why the title was known only to Nayachandra Sūri, who wrote the *Rambhāmañjarī* nearly two hundred years after Jayachandra's death and to none of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions incised during the reigns of Vijayachandra and his successors?[5]

As regards the *Hammīramahākāvya*, it is silent not only about Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara* but also about Pṛthvīrāja's victories in his wars with Nāgārjuna, the Chandel ruler Paramardin, the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II and the Bhādānakas. It has nothing to say also about Pṛthvīrāja's many marriages, though they are mentioned even in the fragmentary *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*. If on the basis of its silence, we neither regard his wars and victories as unhistorical nor conclude that Pṛthvīrāja remained unmarried, what valid reason can we have to make that very silence the main reason to discredit an old tradition, found at least in three languages, Sanskrit, Persian and old Rājasthāni, and having, as we propose to show, its roots in the contemporary poem, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*? No doubt the traditional story of Saṁyogitā is extremely romantic. But romance is a part of life and can therefore be equally true and real. That the story had a romantic setting from the beginning can be inferred from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, too, which brings earth and heaven together, as it were, before describing the romance.[6]

Tradition is unanimous in recognising the existence of Saṁyogitā, though sometimes under names that differ from each other. The *Surjanacharita* of the Bengali poet Chandraśekhara, written to commemorate

2. *Aśidaśītadyutivaṁśajātakṣmāpālamālāsi divaṁ gatāsu.*
3. *Mirzāpur Gazetteer*, p. 204.
4. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 281.
5. Dr. R. S. Tripathi has listed 4 inscriptions of Vijayachandra, 16 of Jayachandra and two of Hariśchandra.
6. See the last but one paragraph.

the achievements of Surjan Hāḍā, a scion of the Saṗādalakṣa-Raṇthambhor line and *mansabdār* of Akbar, has almost the same account of the *svayaṁvara* as the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, though it gives the name of the heroine as Kāntimatī.[7] As early as the sixteenth century and probably earlier still—because the tradition could not have sprung into existence all of a sudden—the descendants of Pṛthvīrāja III and Hammīra must thus have regarded Kāntimatī-Saṁyogitā as one of their ancestresses. Similarly, Akbar's historian, minister and friend, Abul Fazl, recounts the whole story, mentioning Jayachandra's sacrifice, Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara*, the installation of Pṛthvīrāja's statue in the place of a gate-keeper, the carrying away of Saṁyogitā by her lover, and the bravery of his *sāmantas* who fought a rear-guard action to cover the escape of Pṛthvīrāja.[8] In its most popular form the story, as most historians and students of Hindī literature know, is found in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*,[9] which originally may have been an Apabhraṁśa work written in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era.[10]

According to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, Pṛthvīrāja-III fell in love with the heavenly nymph, Tilottamā, even though he had many beautiful queens, the reason for this otherwise inexplicable behaviour being that in his previous life as Rāma, Tilottamā had won his favour by playing excellently the rôle of Sītā in a play staged by the gods.[11] A little further, we are told that Tilottamā was born as a princess destined to marry Rāma's incarnation, Pṛthvīrāja III. Can we identify her with Saṁyogitā of our tradition? Though the printed editions of the poem do not help us in settling the issue, we are, thanks to further investigations into the manuscript material of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, now in a position to state that the lost verses describing the princess referred to *nāka-nadī*, *i.e.*, the Gaṅgā, to a palace or town situated on its bank (*nāka-nadī-taṭa-sthita*), and to certain circumstances in which the heroine with her heart set on her lover could be compared to a *kamalinī* (lotus-flower) thinking of the Sun alone, when faced by the Moon.[12] Should not we conclude from these references that she was probably the daughter of a ruler, whose capital was on the bank of the Gaṅgā and who had decided to give her in marriage to a prince who, whatever his other good qualifications may have been, did not enjoy the privilege of having the princess's love?

7. In this connection, the following papers of mine may be consulted :—
   (*a*) The historicity of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, *IHQ*, 1940.
   (*b*) *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso ki kathāon kā aitihāsika ādhāra*, *Rājasthānī*, Calcutta, vol. III, part 3.
   (*c*) *Surjanacharita-mahākāvya*, *Nāgarī-prachāriṇī-patrikā*, 1929.

8-9. See the papers listed in the last foot-note.

10. See my paper, "The original *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, an Apabhraṁśa work," in the *Rājasthāna-Bhāratī*, I, 1, pp. 93-103.

11. See the last verse of the 11th canto and canto 12.

12. The verses are 74-78 of canto 12.

The above account has obvious resemblances to the story of Saṁyogitā in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. In the *Rāso*, Saṁyogitā is regarded as an incarnation of the heavenly nymph Rambhā. The princess of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* is the *apsaras* Tilottamā born in this world. Both the princesses had their residence somewhere near the Gaṅgā, and both obviously had been promised to suitors they did not love. Other resemblances also exist.

What is there after all that makes Saṁyogitā's story incredible? Her father, Jayachandra, is said to have been on bad terms with Pṛthvīrāja III. We know from history that it was actually so.[13] His putting up of Pṛthvīrāja III's statue at the gate reminds one of an old Rājpūt practice designed to humiliate one's political rivals. Dantidurga Rāṣṭrakūṭa, for instance, made his rivals, the Gurjara ruler and some others, his gate-keepers in the *hiṛṇyagarbha-mahādāna* at Ujjain.[14] Even *rākṣasa vivāhas* were not unknown to Indian history.[15] Pṛthvīrāja carried off merely a not very unwilling princess. Even in this twentieth century, the present writer has seen a bride being carried away from a marriage *paṇḍāl*.

We, of course, have every right to examine the truth of an old tradition. But if the only arguments that can be advanced against it are those summed up above, the old tradition must be permitted to hold its ground. There is nothing illogical or irrational about it. Nor does it go against any known historical facts.

13. See my account of Pṛthvīrāja III, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi, *IC*, 1944.
14. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 235-57.
15. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra married the Chālukya princess Bhavanāga in this way. We are not quoting examples from the epics, for they may be dismissed as legendary and pre-historic.

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BACKGROUND OF MAHMUD'S VICTORY OVER JAIPAL

SHRI K. L. AKHGAR

MAKING good his escape from the furious Jaipal, the *King of Hind*, Adaira[1], an Afghan relative of his, crossed over to Ghazni at the time when war-hysteria was rocking it. Adaira embraced Islam[2] at the hands of Mahmud and professed allegiance to him. The traitor from Jaipal's court divulged the ins and outs of the dominion of Jaipal and persuaded the Sultan to attack the Hindu Raja unawares. Out of devotion to the new faith, Adaira undertook to guide[3] the forces of the Sultan to Indian frontier with complete surety of victory. The Sultan who was previously contemplating to march against Sijistan[4] changed his mind and decided to embark on a holy war against Hind in consonance with the wishes of Adaira. He distributed[5] arms among his people which was a signal for a new venture. The Muslim army left Ghazni[6] in A.H. Shawal 391 H, 1001 A.D. to raise the 'standard of faith'[7] and 'to extend the area of belief' in the land of the Hindus. Many ghazis[8] and volunteers joined the regular Muslim army bound for India. The crusading army marched from Rahibo Jaihar (the place is yet unidentified) stealthily so that none heard the peal of the military drums and none realised its march.[9] Adaira conducted it to a place between Peshawar (Barshur) and villages Kiram and Tapur[10] (unidentified) where it encamped. This battle-field was a wise and strategic selection of Adaira as it being stony[11] was quite favourable to the Muslim Cavalry. Jaipal came to know of the surprise approach of the invaders and made a quick decision of defending[12] his home land with whatever force he had or could mobilise at the spur of the moment. He had then 30,000 cavalry and 300 elephants with him in his fort

1. Alharab wa-al-shujaat *ms.* fol. 187 a.b. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 24 (Aligarh edition).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
7. *ARJ*, 1941, p. 130.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Alharab fol. 187 a.b.
10. *Ibid.*, fol. 186 a.b.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 25.

called the fort of Bikram[13]. He alerted them and despatched swift couriers to other parts of his kingdom to summon more forces. Mahmud got wind of the determination of Jaipal and exercised greater caution in dealing with the changing situation. He took a 'Muster' of his army. He selected 15,000 strong host consisting of cavalry, infantry and officers and kept the rejected populace at an arm's length lest it should disparage the morale of the picked force.[14] Meanwhile Jaipal got ready with 12,000 horse, 30,000 infantry and 300 elephants.[15] Spontaneous character of Jaipal's mobilised army becomes evident when Utbi notices that he bided his time to import more troops from various clans and 'tribes'.[16] He posed all along to be plunging in action but in reality waited for the new troops to arrive behind the columns of his army. Nevertheless it was not possible to throw dust into the eyes of vigilant Sultan. Mahmud got at the game and ordered the charge with spears, swords and arrows. The Hindus responded by throwing their cavalry into action to the accompaniment of the war-music. Their elephants dashed at the enemy and 'line' advanced against 'line'.[17] Fleet-footed horses of the Turks worked havoc against the slow horses and the bulky elephants of the Hindus. The small stones of the battle-field lacerated the feet of the elephants whereas the hoofs of the horses defied the hardness and sharpness of the stones. Their movement remained unaffected and they so easily outmanœuvred the elephants. The Muslim army freely indulged in 'plundering, seizing and destroying.[18] They surrounded the Hindus on all sides. The Hindu army true to its brave traditions fought with full courage but was routed with 5000 soldiers and 50 elephants dead.[19] The Muslim army chased the fleeing Hindu army and another action was fought in the forest of Jani.[20] Here again the already tottering resistance of the Hindus was broken and they lost the day. This victory was due to the selection of good battle-field and marvellous espionage of Sultan Mahmud.[21]

13. Alharab fol. 137 a.b.
14. Utbi in *ED.* vol. II, p. 25.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, *ARJ*, 1941, p. 131.
17. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 25.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *ARJ*, 1941, p. 132. Utbi (*ED*, vol. II, p. 26) says 15000 soldiers and 15 elephants; *ED*, Appendix, p 440 puts down the loss at 5000 men as does also Haft Gulshan fol. 15 a.b.
20. Alharab fol. 137 a.b.
21. *Ibid.*

SOME TAMIL POETS OF THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.

SHRI A. KRISHNA SWAMI

THE 14th century was a period of great confusion in the political history of the Tamil country. From A.D. 1300 to 1871 there was no settled and strong government and there were no great rulers who patronised Tamil poets. The Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was subject to the rule of the Sambuvarāyas of Paḍaivīḍu and the region between Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Chōḷamaṇḍalam, usually called Naḍu-nāḍu with Tirukkōyilūr as the focal city, was ruled over by a Koṅgar chieftain called Varapati Āṭkoṇḍān. According to literary evidences his capital was Vakkappāgai.[1] Rulers belonging to these two minor dynasties seem to have patronised the twin poets called the Iraṭṭiyars and Villiputtūrāḻvār respectively.

Date of the Iraṭṭaiyars :

The Toṇḍaimaṇḍalasatakam of Paḍikkāśupulavar mentions that the Iraṭṭaiyars were patronised by one Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya. We know from inscriptional evidences that this Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya became an independent ruler in A.D. 1321, defeated and drove the Muslims from the Tamil country and assumed the titles of Venrumaṅkoṇḍān and Sakalalōkachakravarthi and ruled till A.D. 1339.[2] The twin poets, Iraṭṭaiyars mention in their work called Ekāmbaranāthar ulā that this Sambuvarāya, had endowed Lord Ekāmbaranātha of Kāñchi with a crown adorned with nine gems, a ratha (car) and built two maṇḍapas called Tulabhāramaṇḍapam and Tula-maṇḍapam.[3] Further, the poets have praised one Sambandāṇḍān, the head of a monastery at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[4] An inscription dated A.D. 1340 mentions Sambandāṇḍān as the supervisor of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple.[5] It may be inferred from these evidences that the Iraṭṭaiyars lived in the early half of the 14th eentury during the period of the Sambuvarāyas.

1. It is not possible to identify this place at present since the majority of the inscriptions of the Kongarayars are unpublished.
2. No. 85 of 1934.
3. T. V. S. Pandarattar, *A History of Tamil Literature*, p. 72.
4. *Tamil Navalar charitam*, p. 111.
5. *SII*, vol. VIII, no. 89.

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According to tradition, the Iraṭṭaiyars were uterine brothers and they were born in a village called Ilandurai in the present Tanjore district.[6] We do not know their correct names but they were known as Mudusūriyar (the elder Sun) and Iḷañsūriyar (the younger Sun). The Tamil Navalar charitam mentions that the elder was lame and the younger was blind and the younger carried his brother on his shoulders led by the elder and thus they were able to visit several places in the Tamil country. But this account is not supported by any reliable evidence except tradition. The poets never mention in their works that they were either blind or lame. If they had been so, the rulers and chieftains who patronised them would have provided them with some convenient means of travelling from place to place. Therefore, it is not reasonable to regard them lame and blind as the Tamil Nāvalar charitam does. Since it was written at a much later period, such unreliable account of the poets seems to have been introduced to strike the imagination of the readers.[7] The poets seem to have been called Muduśūriyar and Iḷañsūriyar because they travelled throughout the Tamil country dispelling human ignorance just as the Sun is dispelling darkness. The Iraṭṭaiyars were staunch Saivaites and their important works are the following: (1) Tillaikkalambakam; (2) Tiruvāmattūr kalambakam; and (3) Ekāmbaranāthar ulā.

(1) *Tillaikkalambakam*:

The Iraṭṭaiyars were regarded as experts in composing Kalambakams and this view is proved by two Kalambakams written by them. Tillaikkalambakam is a praise work of superior merit praising Lord Nataraja at Chidambaram. We know about cetrain new facts about the temple at Chidambaram from this poem. Two of the stanzas mention that the worship in the temple during those days was conducted according to the Maguda Āgama, one of the 26 Āgamas.[8] The poem mentions the five sacred halls in the temple and alludes to the sufferings of the merchants, agriculturists and others as a result of the Muslim invasions from the north.[9]

(2) *Tiruvāmāttūrkalambakam*:

Kalambakam means a garland of poems of various metres and this particular work was written in praise of Lord Śiva at Tiruvāmattūr in South Arcot district. Tiruvāmattūr is one of the thirty-two Saivaite holy places sung by the Nāyanmārs in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The work proves that the Iraṭṭaiyars were Saivaites in religion and an important

6. Pandarattar, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
8. *Tillaikkalambakam*, stanzas 29 and 69.
9. *Ibid.*, stanza no. 39.

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information which they mention is that Hari (Vishṇu) is the feminine gender of Haran (Śiva).[10] The work consists of 102 stanzas and they are noted for literary excellence.

(3) *Ekāmbaranāthar Ulā* :

Ulā means 'procession poem' and it may be written both on Gods and human beings. This Ulā praises the greatness of Lord Ekāmbaranātha of Kāñchi in 1110 lines. It is a description of the procession of Lord Ekāmbaranātha followed by several subsidiary Gods and the emotions of women of various stages who follow the procession. The poets also mention the various gifts and endowments made by Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya to the Śivā temple at Kāñchi. A special feature of this work is that it mentions the term Tirumurai for the Saivaite religious works in the 14th century.[11]

Besides the above three important works several stray poems are attributed to the Iraṭṭaiyars.

Villiputtūrālvār :

Another great Tamil poet during the 14th century was Villiputtūrāḷvār, the author of Bharatam in Tamiḷ. He was a Vaishṇava Brahmin, son of one Vīrarāghava of Saniyūr in Tirumunaippāḍināḍu. Vīrarāghava was a staunch Śrivaishṇava and he was so much attached to Periyāḷvār of Śrivilliputtūr (Tinnevelly Dt.) that he named his son after the famous Āḷvār, the father of Āṇḍāḷ.

The period in which Villiputtūrāḷvār and his patron Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ lived has not been definitely fixed so far. The available sources of information do not help us very much. However, an attempt is here made to arrive at least their probable dates. The poets Iraṭṭaiyars have referred to Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ, the Koṅgar chieftain, who ruled the Naḍu-nāḍu, with Vakkappāhai as his capital. The Iraṭṭaiyars lived during the reign of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya (A.D. 1321-1339). It is probable that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ was a contemporary of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ. It was this Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ who had patronised Villuputtūrāḷvār and he had praised his patron in four contexts in his Mahābharatam. At first he says that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ used to shower gold on poets who praised him.[12] Secondly, he says that Āṭkoṇḍāṉ was ruling with Vakkapāhai as his capital.[13] Then he mentions that the soldiers of Yudhiṣṭhira returned from the battlefield with great victory just as the poets who attended the court of Varapati

10. *Tiruvamattur Kalambakam*, stanza. 64.
11. Pandarattar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
12. Bharatam, *Kandavadhānaccarukkam*, stanza 50.
13. *Ibid.*, *Niraimeetchicharukkam*, stanza 104.

Āṭkoṇḍāṉ returned home with plenty of gold.[14] Lastly, the poet compares the gifts of Karna to the poor to the munificience of his patron.[15] These are definite internal evidences to show that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ patronised Villiputtūrāḷvār. Varandaruvār, the son of Villiputtūrāḷvār mentions that his father was requested by Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ to translate the Mahābharatam into Tamiḻ. Further he maintains that the above chieftain saved Tamiḻ language from being overwhelmed by Kanarese and that he patronised the Tamiḻ poets in such a way that his court could be regarded as the fourth Tamiḻ Saṅgham.[16] It is easy to infer from the statements of Varandaruvār that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ lived at a time when there seemed to be a great danger to the Tamiḻ country and the Tamiḻ language owing to the intrusion of Kanarese and foreign rulers.

Who were the foreigners who established themselves in the heart of the Tamiḻ country and made Kanarese the official language? It must be either the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra or the Saṅgama rulers of Vijayanagar. We have inscriptional evidences to prove that Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III and his Daṇḍanāyakas had established themselves firmly at Tiruvaṇṇamālai and the surrounding region from A.D. 1318 to 1342.[17] It is certain that the Hoysala rulers would have given prominence to Kanarese and Tamiḻ was pushed to the background and this fact is mentioned by Varandaruvār. Therefore, Villiputtūrāḷvār was a contemporary of the Iraṭṭaiyars who lived during the period of Ekāmbaranātha Sambuvarāya and Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ from about A.D. 1321 to 1340.

It was not merely the request of Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ that induced Villiputtūrāḷvār to write the Bharatam in Tamiḻ. As he himself says, it was his keen devotion to sing the praise of Lord Krishṇa that induced him most to undertake that tremendous task. The views that Villiputtūrāḷvār and Aruṇagirināther of Tiruppugazh fame were contemporaries and the former wrote the Bhāratam on the request of Aruṇagiri have no evidences to be maintained. Because Aruṇagirināther lived in the fifteenth century between A.D. 1406 and 1465 during the reign of Dēvarāya II, the Vijayanagar emperor.

The Bharatam of Villiputtūrāḷvār is a monumental work on the first ten Parvas of the Mahābharatam and contains 4,389 stanzas. Though the author was a staunch Vaishṇavite, he was not a fanatic.

14. Bharatam, *op. cit.*, 16th day charukkam, stanza 90.
15. *Ibid.*, 17 day charukkam, stanza, 88.
16. *Ibid.*, Introduction, stanzas nos. 22 and 17.
17. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, *Hoysalas in the Tamiḻ country*, p. 82.

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Because he showers equal devotion to both Vishṇu and Śivā in his work. The stanzas in the Bharatam are written in such a way that they could be read with musical tunes and rythmn. But the large admixture of Sanskrit words is pointed out as a defect by some critics. But we must know that Villiputtūrāḷvār was not solely responsible for this use of large number of Sanskrit words. Sanskrit terms came to be used in Tamiḷ works from the Pallava period and the scholars in those days did not consider these ancient languages as mutually exclusive.

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PEACE-POLICY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

Dr. R. C. Prasad Singh

Political history of the period in question is the history of constant struggle between rival powers. Men at the helm of power continued to play tricks and fight against one another. But the disastrous consequences of disunity and frequent wars led theoreticians of our period to realise the importance of unity and peace.

Somadeva,[1] the grand ancient Indian politician condemned differences among rulers and held " When water is drained from the lake, the crocodile grows as thin as a snake. A lion when he leaves the forest is no more than a jackal. And a snake whose fangs are drawn is a mere rope. In union is strength. Even a mad elephant will trip in a twisted clump of grass." Here we see Somadeva presenting parallels between Indian kings and crocodiles, lions, snakes and others. In his opinion Hindu kings as a consequence of disunity and war would loose their territory and hence, they would suffer like above mentioned creatures. He did not like kings to face this lot, therefore, he laid emphasis upon unity and wanted every Indian King to be united by giving up the policy of war.

The Buddhist text *Suvarṇabhāsottama* Sūtra[2] suggested that rulers of India should be contented with what they had. According to it contention would bar kings from fighting, attacking, quarreling or disputing with their neighbours and would bring good-will amongst nations.

Hindu authors of our period such as Śukra, Medhātithi and others framed the policy of *sāma, dāna, daṇḍa* and *bheda* and wanted Hindu rulers to follow them in international affairs. All of them emphasised on *sāma. Sāma* stands for the English word friendship. Once friendship is established, ideas of enmity and war will be ironed out, and hence, peace will prevail throughout the world.

1. *Nītivākyāmṛta,* XXX.
2. *S. Sūtra,* vi., pp. 73-75.

It can be gathered from the commentary of Medhātithi[3] that to bring peace, meetings of rulers were advised and kings followed by chief queens were advised to attend the conference. It appears that royal ladies used to help a good deal in bringing out peaceful talk. In course of these talks Śukra[4] suggested that rulers should promise that "We should not mutually injure each other but should rather help each other in time of need." Thus friendship achieved would result in the prosperity of the people because Suvarṇabhāsottama[5] Sūtra contains the reference "When all the eighty-four thousand kings of eighty-four thousand cities of India think of their mutual welfare and feel mutual affections and joy.....contented in their own domains.....India will be prosperous, well-fed, pleasant and populous. The earth will be fertile and the months and seasons and years will all occur at the right time, planets and moon and sun will duly bring on the days and nights. Rain will fall upon earth at the right time. And all living beings in India will be rich with all manners of riches and corn, very prosperous but not greedy."

Thus we see, though ahead of their time, these Indian authors belonging to different faiths advised their kings to be satisfied with what power they had. The strength of unity was recognised and rulers of the period were suggested to give up the war tendency even in those early days. These authors realised that peace alone would bring prosperity as was also suggested by Kāmandaka[6] that "The sovereign who desires to reach acme of prosperity should make peace even with one equal to him in all respects."

3. *Medhātithi on Manu*, vii. 198.
4. *Śukra*, iv. 1,61-62.
5. *S. Sūtra*, vi. p. 75.
6. *Kāmandaka*, ix, 60.

A PLEBIAN REVOLT OF DELHI DURING THE REIGN OF SULTAN ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI

SHRI ASIT KUMAR SEN

DURING the reign of Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī there took place in the city of Delhi a thunderous outburst against Tirmuzī, the Koṭwal of the city. This rebellion took place due to the negligence and oppression, on the part of Koṭwal Tirmuzī, and was lead by Hājī Maulah an ex-Slave of Malik-ul-Umra Fakhr-ud-din. Hājī Maulah had stuck up friendship with some ex-Kotwali officers.[1] At this time Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was prosecuting his siege at Ratambhor and Tirmuzī was left in charge of the city, and at Siri where a new fort was under construction of Alā-ud-din Ayaz, the father of Ahmad Ayaz was holding the same office. Hājī Maulah saw that the oppression of Tirmuzi had created dissatisfaction and the city was denuded of soldiers. The condition of siege at Rantambhor was such that the Sultan could not leave behind any soldier in the capital.

At mid-day int he month of Ramzan 700 A.H. (May 1301 A.D.) with a band of armed followers and paiks he went to the house of the Koṭwal Tirmuzī who was falsely informed about the arrival of a letter from the Sultan and as soon as the unsuspecting Koṭwal came out to receive it, he was cut into two.[2] Hāji Maulah now summoned Koṭwal Alā-ud-dīn Ayaz intending to do away with him also but the latter had already received scent of the disturbance, and instead of going out to meet the former, gathered his followers around him and refused to open the gates of the new fort.[3]

Hajī Maulah followed most novel method of securing adherents because the first step that he took after entering the Red palace was to liberate the prisoners many of whom after liberation became his followers. The arms that were brought out from the royal armoury helped the rebels to provide themselves with sufficient weapons, and horses brought from the royal stable were utilised by them. Bags of gold

1. *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Agra ed.) p. 268. Barani says that Hājī Maulah was the superintendent of Crown lands at Rataul which according to Dr. K. S. Lal is situated in the Bhagpat-tahsil, Meerut (*History of the Khaljis*, p. 118 N).
2. Barani, pp. 278-279.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

tanks were also brought out from the treasury and distributed among the people. An Alwai (descendent of Ali) related on his mother's side to Sultan Iltutmish,[4] was placed on the throne at the Red palace and the principal men of the city were forced to pay him respect.

The news reached Sultan Alā-ud-dīn at Rantambhor but he did not divulge it to his soldiers for obvious reasons. The city was under the rebel for nearly a week.[5] On the third or fourth day Amir Hām-ud-din, Amir of Koh and his sons all of whom were valiant men together with his retenue arrived at Delhi and forced the Ghaznī gate. A number of followers of Zafar Khan arrived from Amroha and helped in suppressing rebels.[6] A battle ensued between the followers of Hājī Maulah and the royal army, and after two days at Bhandarkal gate—the followers of the Amir Hāmi-ud-din cornered the insurgents including some shoemakers. Hājī Maulah was brought down from his horse by Amir Hāmi-ud-din who disregarding all the blows that fell upon him killed the former with his own hand. After the suppression of the insurrection, the Alawi[7] was killed, and all those who had taken money from the Hājī Maulah were made to disgorge the amount and were cast in prison. The Sultan sent Ulugh Khan from Rantambhor to finish the followers of Hājī Maulah. The former took his residence at the Muzzī palace. The insurgents were severely punished so that blood flowed like stream.[8] The family of Malik Fak-hr-ud-din, the late Kotwal of Sultan Balban's days was completely eradicated on suspicion that without their instigation Hājī Maulah would have dared to rise in rebellion.[9] The unfortunate sons and grandsons had no knowledge of the revolt.[10] According to Ferishta, the sons of Fak-hr-ud-din, Malik-ul-umra, were not a party to these rebellion but because Hājī Maulah was a personal slave of their father they were punished.[11] The account of other historians also agree with Ferishta on this point.[12] Therefore, it may be safely concluded that Hājī Maulah in his rebellion was not supported by the descendents of Malik Fak-hr-ud-din. There is no other evidence of any help being received by the rebel leader from Balban Amirs or their descendents, except that he was helped by some ex-Kotwali officers.[13]

4. Barani calls him a grandson of Shah Najaf. Badaoni has given his name as Sayyid Zada Shah Nabasa *Munta Khab-ut-twarikh* (B.I), p. 193.
5. *Barani*, p. 280.
6. *Ibid.*, and Ferishtah, p. 188.
7. Barani, p. 281.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
9. Badaoni, (*B.I.*), p. 194.
10. Barani, p. 282.
11. Ferishtah, p. 189.
12. Barani states that the descendents of the Ex-Kotwal had no knowledge of the uprising. Badaoni of cit. also states that they were put to death on suspicion.
13. See above.

On the other hand the insurgent leader made friendship with prisoners released from the jail, shoemakers and others who were attracted by the gold distributed by him from the royal treasure.

Hājī Maulah had placed Sayyid Shah Nabasa,[14] a man related to Sultan Shams-ud-din from his mother's side on the throne to give a legal sanction to his rebellion but the poor Alwai had no knowledge of this uprising and he was carried by force and made to wear the crown.[15]

The aristocracy of the city were forced to pay their obedience to Shah Nabasa and there is no evidence in contemporary history about their voluntary support nor any mention about a planned conspiracy of the supporters of Ilbari-Turks to replace the Khaljis and revive their power. Barani clearly states that the rebellion had its root in the distress of the people due to the oppression of Kotwal Tirmuzi. Therefore, it is difficult to agree with some scholars who called the rebellion of Hājī Maulah an attempt of the Ilbarites to regain power.[16] The insurrection was a protest of the plebeian citizens including shoemakers against the tyranny of the Koṭwal Tirmuzī. After the suppression of this insurrection Sultan Alā-ud-din, on an analysis of the causes of rebellion, ascribed four main reasons for the recurrence of disobedience among his subjects, *viz.*, the Sultans disregard and negligence of the interest of his subjects, wine bibbing, intimacy among the Maliks and increase of wealth which create evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty.[17] It is interesting to note that the Sultan's ignorance of the affairs of his subjects topped the list. It was due perhaps to the fact that the rebellion of Hājī Maulah was largely a product of official oppression done behind the back of the Sultan.

14. Badaoni, p. 198.
15. Barani, p. 280.
16. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Second ed.) p. 52. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 118.
17. Barani, pp. 282-88.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON FIRUZ SHAH AND HIS TIMES

(MAINLY FROM LITERARY SOURCES)

PROFESSOR HASAN ASKARI

BESIDES well-known historical works, there is a considerable amount of contemporary literature, general and religious, produced during the Tughlaq period which, when carefully examined will serve as valuable, though indirect, source-materials of history. Of the works in Arabic which throw a flood of light on Muhammad Tughlaq and his times, the relevant volume of the Rihlā of Ibn-i-Batuta has already been published in full[1] both in Urdu and English. Elliot has given some extracts from Subhaḥ Āshā Fi Sanāat-al-Inshā, compiled by Abul Abbās Ahmad-al-Qalqashandi[2] (d. 821 = 1418), on the basis of an earlier work, Masālik-ul-Absār fi-Mamālik-ul-Amsār by Shihābuddin Ahmad-al-Umari of Damascus (d. 749 = 1848). Though the author of Masālik did not come to India, he had derived his information from those who had seen it including such Indians as Sh. Mubārak Ambāti of Cambay, Qāzi Sirāj uddin and Sh. Abdur Rahmān-al-Hiṅdi, Sh. Abu Bakr bin Khallāl, etc. A complete and critical edition of the whole chapter dealing with 'Iqbim-ul-Hind' is still a desideratum, for it gives such useful information about the magnificence of Muhammad Tughlaq's empire, his camp, army, conquests, Subas, salaries of officials, products, industry, commerce, communication, works of public utility, such as hospitals, tanks, postal system, price rates, costumes of the people, etc.

The enlightened king, Firuz Shah, had a large number of scholarly admirers because, among other things that he did, he bestowed special care and attention upon religious leaders, mystics, poets and litteratures of the times. Some of the numerous works other than historical which were written during the period of his beneficent reign have fortunately come down to us, but they still await the attention of scholars. Fatāwā-i-Jahāndāri[3] by the historian, Barni, has been noticed and a fairly

1. Urdu version byM. Muhammed Husain and English Translation with Introduction by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Gaekwad of Baroda publication).
2. Elliot has not mentioned Algalgoshand. See Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1585.
3. Perhaps with Proceedings of I. H. Records Commission.

lengthy paper was published in J.A.S.B. (1928) on Inshā-i-Māhru[4] which is a collection of 123 letters of Malik-us-Sharq, Ain-ul-Mulk Māhru, a high official of Firuz Shāh, and Governor of Multan. Both these works are very important and deserve a more detailed treatment. The 'Diwāns', or collection of poems of Mutahhar[5] of Karā, a court poet of Firuz Shāh, and of Sher Khān *alias* Masud Bak, a relation of the Sultān whose reckless utterances, so obnoxious to the Ulemas, brought about his death, arrest our attention. The poems of Mutahhar on Firuz Shah's benevolence, his public works, his monuments, his philanthropy, and his expedition and conquests in Bengal, Jājnagar and Thatha deserve more than a passing notice. Even purely religious and theological works such as those on 'Fiqh' (jurisprudence), when closely scrutinized, will yield something of historical interest. There are two voluminous works in O.P.L. Patna, namely Fiqh-i-Firuz Shāhi and Fawāid-i-Firuz Shāhi of which the second was dedicated to Sultan Firuz Tughlaq and the first was edited in Persian, at the instance of the same emperor, from the original Arabic compilation by Maulana Sadruddin Yāqub Guhrāmi. These and even 'Muftāhul[6] Jinān' by Mūjir Wajih Adila and 'Tuhfatun Nasāih', a poem of Yusuf Gadā, both disciples of the celebrated Chisti Saint, H. Nasiruddin Mahmud Chirāg-i-Dehli (d. 757 = 1356), though concerned with the duties and rites and observances of the Muslims, as also Khair-ul-Majālis, containing the discourses of this saintly successor of the famous Nizāmuddin Auliā (d. 725 = 1325) are not devoid of interest to a student of history. Indeed, the mystic literature, produced in such profusion in the fourteenth century, specially by saintly personages of Bihar belonging to the Firdusia order of Sufism gives us a glimpse into the social and religious condition of the times and we can have an idea of the cultural trends of the period from these and also from some other works written in Persian and 'Hindvi' languages.

Nurul Yaqin, or the Diwān of Masud Bak[7] and his other treatises, Mirat-ul-Ārifin and Tamhidāt, patterned after a work of the same name by the famous mystic, Ain-ul-Qazzāt-Hamadāni,[8] are not easily available but some of the poetical pieces of Mutahhar of Karā are before us and it is worth while to consider those which are of historical interest. In a long ode of 'Qasida' praising Firuz Shah Tughlaq "who was distinguished for his skill and wisdom and for his strict observance of the

4. The only copy consulted by the writer belongs to the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.

5. Dr. Wahid Mirza of the Lucknow University contributed a learned paper on Mutahhar and the rare copies of his Diwan in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May 1935. See also the issue of August 1935.

6. Ethe has noticed it in the Catalogue of India Office Library, London. Yusuf Gada's book has been printed.

7. See Ethe's Catalogue.

8. Admired and quoted frequently by H. Shafuddin Munsi, the celebrated 14th century saint of Bihar.

Shariat and who reigned as no other king had reigned," the poet writes about his accession, his virtues, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. We are told that the Sultan "made it incumbent on himself to follow the rules of justice and display the virtues of generosity and benevolence and he adopted for himself the canon of forbearance tinged with a sense of dignity and prestige." Wherever there was a captive in the country, he was released and countless favours[9] were shown "wherever there were scholarly, pious, saintly and ascetic persons, they were provided with bread, convent (Dair) and money (Dirhem)". He set apart lands and villages for travellers and wayfarer in every quarter of the country. He gave so much allowance and provisions to old and decrepit persons and orphan children that they became affluent." As regards grandees and nobles of the court they also got an increase in their rank and position. Scarcity and famine were banished from the country so much so that the caravans of grain dealers carried bags of grain laden on hundreds of beasts of burden." There was so much safety and security in the country that a lone wayfarer could pass his nights wherever he had to stop." The places where in the recollection of men there had been no cultivation, no well had been ever sunk, and no enclosure had been set up, the barren fields were turned into blossoming gardens, and much was given to the people in accordance with the rules of 'Khums' (1/5th) and 'Ushr' (1/10th of the produce). Today, even in name, nobody can point out any village which is deserted and desolate and in the dry grassless deserts, where neither beasts nor birds lived, he caused so many canals and fountains to be made that in a distance of one 'Kos' there appeared two canals."[10] "He made so many Cāravansarāis, Madrasas (colleges), inns, hospices, mosques, tanks and fortresses that from the river Sindh up to the gate of Delhi the whole country appeared to be full of sown fields, gardens and rest houses, looking like those of paradise." And as Delhi, on account of its highly congested population, had become dirty and had begun to smell badly, he built another populous town on the bank of the Jamuna and named it (Firuzabad) after himself. "There was such a beautiful town that even Māni could not draw the picture of its beauty from the point of his pen." And within the town he constructed a palace round which like so many stars and moon the edifices of nobles and grandees were erected." "There he laid the foundation of a congregational mosque, on the edge of the river Jamuna which, on account of its splendour, looked like a pearl worthy of king." Thereafter a

9. Yahya Sarhundi writes "A general farmān was issued to the various parts of the kingdom granting compassion, favour and education to the subjects." T. M. S. No reference to the release of all prisoners.

10. Mutalhar omits to mention Hospitals. See Afif's T. F. S. and Ferishta for the works of prophetic utility and about the plenty and prosperity in the country under Firuz Shah. Yahya has given an account of the canals in greater details. See Basu's translation. Afif mentions only 2 canals.

Minār[11] made out of one stone and reaching from the earth to the sky was planted on a platform." Then he set up on the top of the portico of the palace, an hour glass clock (Tās)[12] for marking the time and people could ascertain from that hours and time of prayers and fastings both in the bright day and the dark night.". This is a brief account of his generosity and philanthropy and out of thousands of such items, even one cannot be adequately mentioned."

In Qasida (Ode) no. 80 the poet describes his perambulation in the city of Delhi. He first visited the holy sanctuary which contained the mausoleum of H. Nizāmuddin Auliā and refers reverently to the vaulted building and the adjoining streams. Then he mentions other vaulted monuments, the domes and arches of the edifices, looking like stars, the closets of the Sufis and their attendants. Then he turns to the Madrasa building, the like of which was not to be seen either in Hamadān or in Rūm or Bulgharia. After loitering round the 'Hauz-i-Khās' he reaches the garden of the Madrasa which was full of green grass and odoriferous plants and flowers such as sweet basils, rose, tulip and fruit-bearing trees like those of pomegranates, oranges, citrons, quince, apples which were produced in such abundance as to be sent elsewhere. The poet writes enthusiastically about the glittering dome, roof, towers, doors, walls, sweet-scented sandal wood and other timber, lime plaster, pavements resembling those of Yemen, Shirāz or Damascus. More important are the following lines "I said this Madrasa and the garden built by the king of the world are such that if you enter them you will see only one type of beauty in thousands. When I got inside that paradise I found a row of angelic scholars. There were very learned men, well-versed in Arabic language and full of Irāqi wisdom and all were clothed in Syrian 'Jubba' (long vest or shirt) and Egyptian 'Dastār' (turban). Everyone was a verity of the age in possessing a variety of accomplishments, and everyone was a source of inspiration of wisdom to the people of the surrounding lands. In the knowledge of 'Fiqh' they rivalled those of Bukhāra and Samarcand and in rhetoric they served as towers of learning to the people of Hejāz, Yemen and Nejed. The chief of that assembly and the Principal of that institution who from the head to foot appeared is a personification of wisdom and dignity.....was the scholar of the age named Jalāluddin whom Rum and Ray claimed as their own with pride. He was an authority on the seven types of the recital of the Qurān and on 14 branches of learning. He was

11. This was the Asokan pillar removed from Topra in Suwalik Hills to Firuz-abad. The stone obelisk was according to Afif, 32 Gaz high (8 Gaz sunk in pedestal) with a gilded copper cupula or Kalas above some ornamental freezes of black and white stone placed round its two Capitals. See *ED*, vol. III p. 350.

12. Afif has also mentioned this Tāo Gheryal which means a plate of brass or bell metal for sounding the 'Glories' of each Pahar or Witch of the day and night—a clock.

the commentator of the 5 standard groups of ordinances or the traditions of the Prophet and he was the 'Mufti' of the 4 schools of[13] supreme heads of law (Jurists).....I listened to his talks, on the variety of sciences. I derived something from him about Tafsiv (Qurānic commentaries), 'Usul' (principles of jurisprudence) and 'Akhbār' (history). I saw also students engaged in various directions in loud discussion and refutation of each other's points of view. After a time when the hot discussion over controversial questions ceased, the chief of the food servers came in".

No less interesting is the account given of the food served in the Madrasa. We are told 'nearly all the dishes consisted of preparations from the meat of the partridges, young pigeons, large fowls, starlings, fish, fat cocks, hill-bred goat-kids or fawns. They were stuffed with pomegranates, sugar, almonds and were perfumed with fragrant saffron, sandal juice and musk. There were round loafs fried in 'Laiba'[14](?) several cutlets made of almonds, dry and fresh, which were piled up on every side. Indeed a whole spring of dainty dishes had come and saucers like leaves and narcissus-like cups were found all around. The water carriers carried choicest goblets filled with pomegranate juice with a mixture of sweet and sour syrup.....When the assembly of feasting and drinking was over, the table-cloth was wrapped up and the good people withdrew their hands. Then the bearer of the betel leaves came swiftly with betel leaves cases made of gold and silver. The 'Birāhs'[15] were like the 'Sadbarg' flower (hundred petal) and rose and they were pierced on one side by thorns. They were saffron-like in colour, delicious and sweet scented like ambergris and they were oily, juicy, and like a Chafigdish[16] to the cheek."

Our poet now went to the 'Khānqah' (monastery or the religious establishment of the Sufis) which had also vaults, arches and domes. Inside every domed building he saw the 'Qalandars'[17] and ascetic people, who had celibate lives and had renounced the world. They were robed in black or white garment. There were travellers and wayfarers and pilgrims and those used to night vigils. All of them were provided for by the king and everyone was offering thanksgivings to God for the beneficence conferred on them by the king. The poet next

13. Hanafi, Māliki, Shafai, Hanbali.

14. If it could be read as 'Laban' which is an Arabic word for 'milk fricd' would have to be substituted for, soaked or mixed. The line reads as follows:— O Qurs-i-Biryān Ze Laibāo was Digar Arāish-Khist-o-Vozina Taroo-Khusk Behar Su Ambar.'

15. The use of this Hindi word and reference to the thorn being used to hold together betel leaves made up of different ingredients are interesting.

16. The reading is doubtful here the word written looks like 'Tanaggat' or it may be Mangal.

17. A kind of ascetic Darwish who renounces the world, relations and friends and travels about with shaven head and beard.

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turned towards the row (Suffa) of the 'knowers' (Ārifān) and the Sufi saints and their disciples and on the right side he saw a group of 'Haidari' ascetics. They included old and experienced people and bright young men many of whom were widely-travelled. They were black robed and had shining faces because of the spotless lives they led. The Chief of this group was Shaikhul Islam, the pole of the age, named Shaikhzāda Sadruddin, a descendent (grand son on the daughter's side) of the celebrated Suhrawardi saint named H. Bahāuddin Zakaria[18] Muḷtāni. We know that he had been appointed Shaikhul Islam in 758 A.H., the year in which the congregational mosque near the Kushk, and the Madrasa on the bank of Hauzi-Khās were built.

The description of the Khānqah is follwed by that of the Masjid-i-Ādina (congregational mosque) which finds mention in Afif's Tārikh-i-Firuz Shahi and which is now in a deserted and ruined condition in Firuz Shah Ka Kotla. The poet writes in glowing terms about the magnificence of this arched building with 'domes above the domes', 'cupolas above the cupolas', its roofs, its paved flooring, its height, its breadth, the rare carvings on its stones, and the skill shown in its construction. Elsewhere, in a Tarkib-band,[19] devoted to a description of the city of Firuzābād and its buildings, the poet mentions the Masjid-i-Jāma' there and says that there was no similar building either on the side of Khurāsān or Irāq or that of Khitā (China) or Khafehāq. We are told that all the avenues and the passages in the galleries or the balconies were made of alabaster stone and they rested on pillars made of pure marble stones. It had a unique pulpit and its arches were multicoloured. It is a mosque, we read, which has been built on such a plan as to look like that of paradise on earth. Iron, cotton[20](?) lead, agate or coral have been melted and used as mortar and cement under every stone. The domes which raise their heads to the sky are like stars not to be distinguished from the moon. The knowers who have wandered over the various directions of the earth feel strongly tempted to have a look at it. The 'Sunnis' have drawn the sword of the Divine will on its gates so that the wicked licentious people may not disobey the command.

The significance of the last line will be considered later. Here it is worthwhile to notice what the poet says about the Delhi-Siwālik Asokan pillar which was brought by Firuz Shah from Topra at the foot of the Siwālik hills near the Khizrābād, on the Jamuna, and which was set up on the top of a building in what is now known as Firuz Shah Ka

18. See Akhbār-ul-Akhyār for life.

19. A kind of poetic composition.

20. The line reads as follows :—" Ahan-o-Rū,ī-o-Rasās O Shiba (or Shaba) Bugdākhṭa Sud—Zer-i-Har Sang Bamānind-i-Gachh Andākhlā Aud."

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Kotla. Mutahhar has already referred to this ' Minār ' and to the ' Tās ' (clock or bell) which was placed on the top of the Darbār of the Kushk (palace or mansion) at Firuzābād to tell the time. Strangely enough, there is no mention in his poem of another Asokan pillar which was removed from Meerath and set up on a ridge to the south of Shah-jahanabad near the ruined building known as Pirgah and was broken to pieces in British time by the explosion of a powder magazine.[21] The poet says about the Firuzabad Minar as follows :—" This sky-high pillar which was made out of one piece of stone goes tapering from the base and becomes narrow at the top. The foot is down below the earth and the top is very high like the seven constellation. Every part below and above is coated with glittering gold. Indeed it looks like a hillock of gold from a distance of 100 leagues. It is resplendent like the sun in the morning .....If you ask me about this Minār which the exalted king brought from a distance as to how and by what means and methods it was done, how it was dug out from its original place, how it was driven out by 500 spades[22] (or carried by 500 oxen) how it was fastened by a heavy chain of 1,000 maunds in weight, how it was floated along the the Nile-like river in 100 boats, how it was planted inside the mosque in the light of 1,000 hanging lamps, I would say, in response to your wishes, that I cannot give the details, more or less, for the life is short and the story is long." Oh God ! how could they raise that hill-like heavy thing and with what was it held so that there was no shaking in it. How did they lift it upwards, and how did they place that which was high as sky on a platform ? How could they manage to make almost the whole of it inscribed in gold so as to look like coloured mornings? It is a standard which the angels have installed on the earth and it is an angelic mansion which the people have imagined to be a hillock. Its base and its stem are carved out of iron and stone[23] and its trunk and its branches (outer parts) have been made out of gold and coral. Whom did God give such power and support as to enable him to dig out a hill from its place and plant it elsewhere ?"

We should not forget that the Diwan of Mutahhar is not a history but a collection of poems and one has to make allowance for poetic hyperboles and exaggerations. Nevertheless, our poet supplies us with information, which, on the whole, finds corroboration in the accounts recorded by contemporary[24] historians. It is interesting to find that some of the lines of Mutahhar in the poems describing the City of Firuzābād and relating to its congregational mosque and also to the

21. See the Archæological Survey Report—old series, vol. II.

22. The line runs thus : Chūn Bekandand Ze Bun Rāndo Bado Pānsad Bel (or Bail)-chun Be Bastand Bayak bak Man-i-Zanjir-i-Saqīl.

23. This is the line : Bron-o-Bekhash Ba Hadid-o-Hajar Ampāshta And—Tan-o-Shakh-i-Za-Zar-Sākhta and o Marjān."

24. Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi als.

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Minār or pillars have been quoted by the anonymous author of the rare contemporary history in O.P.L., Patna named Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi, where we get a detailed description, with illustrations, of the engineering feats performed in removing the famous Asokan pillar from such a distance to the newly-built city.

We get some information of a political nature also from the Diwān before us. About the emperor's wars and conquests over Bengal, Orissa, Nagar Kot and Thatha, the poet says :— "Now hear the story of the conquests and the wars which he waged for the sake of faith..... It comes to my mind that in the beginning of the reign he had to fight against some refractory people rather reluctantly[25].....And when he unfurled the banner and started at the head of his cavalry with good omen, the surface of the earth became white with fire and iron and the dust raised by the hoofs of the horses darkened the air. He sent for a letter to the king of the East and limited his demands to the recognition of his allegiance and to the payment of tribute in money and elephants. As the king[26] of the East did not comply with the demand, being proud of his command over the armies and armaments, the king had no alternative left but to move his army across the Ganges to devastate his territories. He drew up his army to fight against the 'Zābit' (ruler) to plunder his lands and also enlisted the support of others, with an army of 10,000 Pāiks and 30,000 horses and elephants he laid the seige and pitched his camp. Within a short time the victorious army of the king drew forth their swords and delivered the assault like the waves of the ocean. Those waves of horse and foot-soldiers trampled the enemy under their foot within a short time. Fifty live elephants were captured in one assault and hundreds of the forces on the other side were laid prostrate on the ground.

Thereafter such was the terror struck by him that his lofty banner was moved from Bihar[27] with a view to making the conquests in Jājnagar. He selected 40,000 out of 90,000 and then he rushed alone, ahead of others, and turned his face towards the deserts without green grass. For two months he continued his advance in forests, caves and hills and he also entered many jungles and dark forests. And then he came

25. Bā Lashkar-i-Muāg Masāf-i-Ba Ār Kard. This was quite in keeping with the pacific disposition of the Sultan.

26. This was Hāji Ilyās who had established himself in the whole of Bengal by 1852 and had followed upto Bewarz and even as far as Bahrāih. The proclamation issued by Firuz in 1353 and recorded in Insha-i-Māhru explains the reason of the invasion. The author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi gives another interesting reason. Mutahhar does not mention the second expedition against Sultan Sikandar of Bengal, in 760-61.

27. Yahya Sarhundi writes in Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi " After the expiry of the rainy season in the month of Zihyya 761 (Oct.-Nov. 1360) the Emperor moved by way of Bihar to Jajnagar.

within the environs of the fort of Sehki[28] (Sekhara) and turned towards the place where the unjust infidel resided. Although the Rāi had elephants, horses, and retinue which were countless in numbers, such was the terror of the king that he fled towards[29] the ocean. But the Hindu could find no protection except in the court of the king and therefore, he was forced to entreat for amnesty with a hundred tongues.[30] And whatever he had of gold, and jewels, elephants, and horses, he offered as a blood money of the horse-shoe of the victorious king."

And you have heard of Nagar[31] Kot which has got a fort which was the envy of the sky for its height. At the foot of the hill there is a deep stream running on stony grounds and encircling the fort in 180 different ways. And at the bottom of that stream there are pebbles of stones rolling like the dice of the gambler. In short, when the king resolved to conquer such an impregnable fort, he invaded the land with such a huge army that dust raised by the hoofs of the horses served as collyrium to the eyes of the day. And the men of his army who were as quick as lightening easily crossed that river. Those waters and stones, on account of the hoofs of swift footed horses looked like emitting sometimes flames, sometimes sparks. The king led his army through these narrow paths and brought them up on the hills like so many stars. Such a battle was waged on both sides as to make a history and its fame became wide-spread. At last when the king saw that that fort was very strong and it could not be easily stormed with swords and arrows, he ordered many 'Arradas' (Magazine for revolving wheels) to be laid and many 'Manjaniqs' (Catapults or engines for hurling stones) began to throw Naft (Greek five) which fell like rains from the sky. They threw fire and stones so much that those demon-natured people were practically stoned to death. At length, seeing no alternative, the Rāi bent his head of submission and pleaded his guilt and paid money and tribute.

28. Spelt as Sikra in Elliot and Yahyas book as 'Sanghur' in Ferishta as Sankara in Tabqat-i-Akbari. Some identify it with Sirgooyah which is unlikely. Banaras is said to have been the residence of the Rai of Jajnagar in Surāt-i-Firuz Shahi.

29. "The Rai made her retreat towards Telang" Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi by Yahya Māhru says that after the batch of Sāranggarti the Rai fled from Banarasi to Arkanid.'

30. In Insha-i-Māhru we read that after the subjugation of 'Sivan' the Rai submitted and placing his head on the ground he presented 23 Tūls (Colhe Grin) to H. M. out of 19 betrated elephant the Rai sent 18 that as his uncles and grandfather had already been taken prisoner by H.M.'s men so he should be ever obedient and slave of them. Following the custom of the Hindus he fell flat on the ground and from the forehead to the nail of his feet he threw his entire body on the ground. He then stood out.

31. Yahya simply mention the march from Nagerkot to Thathe but Afif gives greater details and Ferishta, a later authority, consulted some books from which he got interesting information from the library of Jawala Mukhi temple consisting of 1,800 volumes out of which some were translated at the instance of the Sultan into Persian and called 'Dalā,-i-Firuz Shahi' translated by M. Izzuddin Khāni and the other books translated in the name of Firuz Shah included one on Srām, Music (Pingāl Paturbāzi (entertanment by dancers and singers.)

And among the conquests of the king there was the loss of victory over Thatha by the news of the affairs whereof the whole people had been at first upset....It was such a victory which did not fall to the lot of either Tuhamtan (Rustam) or Sikandar of Rum. The victory was achieved at a place the difficulties and hardships whereof had made the sky bite its finger with its tongue. There was the ocean and the five rivers (of the Punjab) all-around as far as the eyes could see. They had countless boats and innumerable men, everyone of whom was like a wrestler armed with lances. They had armies like ants and snakes and each could, with his arrow, make a target of the eyes of the ants and the ears of the serpents. The king of the world rested for his support, in every expedition that he led, on the help of his creator...He marched at the head of such a force that from the hoofs of the horses the plains were afflicted and the rivers became muddy. He waged everyday a war of plunder and devastation so much so that the territories of the enemy became full of blood. Ultimately, when the inhabitants of that place were in such great troubles and anguish as to disclose their perturbation and they bent down their heads in submission and sought protection from the king, amnesty was granted to them and the king held out hopes of further generosity. Bahbanian[32A] the ruler of Sindh and Rāi and Jām came to the stirrup with all their subjects and grandees.

In a ' Tarkibband ' the poet describes the congratulatory assembly held on the victory in Thatha, Sindh and Multan and gives some information of cultural interest regarding feasts and entertainments, music and dancing. He again refers to the difficulties in fighting in the island like Thatta. He mentions Bahbanian, the ' Safdār of Sindh ', his brother, Rāi Tamāchi[32B] and also Rai Jām, and the powerful and numerous army that they had under their command. The poet tells here also how the king made the situation so hot for them that they were compelled to submit. Unavoidably they allowed the hair of their head and the beard to be tied with cord or string " and were taken in such humiliation to the court of the king. The Sultan was magnanimous enough to hold out his soothing hands to all of them and honoured them by giving them ranks and positions and also horses, rich robes, and other things. The rains of his generosity fell on those captives and all of them were flooded with his gracious favours and benevolence."

32.A.B. Yahya calls him Jām Babiniya ad Afif mentions here as " Jām, brother of Rai Unār, and Balaniya as his brother's son. Yahya says that when the king reached Thethe Jām Babiniya, the ruler of Thathe, took refuge in a place, surrounded by water and fought for some time. Forage and provisions running short, the Sultan had to return into Gupat (which occasioned the jubilant reclamation in Hindi of the people referring to the discomfiture of Md. Tuqhlaq—" Barkat Shaikh Thathe Bhegg, Eik Muā—see Afif). On the Sultan's reappearance Jām Brburiya submitted. According to Afif the son of Jām and Tamāchi, brother of Babiniya, were placed in charge of Thathe.

Besides the other poems written in praise of the Emperor and one in which his son and successor, Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah, has been eulogized, there are many odes composed in honour of the poet's chief patron, 'Malik-us-Sharq Ainul Mulk (Māhru).' The other nobles whom the poet has praised are 'Malik-us-Sharq Hūsmuddin' who, according to him, had participated in the Jājnagar expedition, his son, 'Malik Shamsul Haque Iran Shah,' Malik Alāuddin, his son Shamsuddin, 'Malik-us-Sharq Nizāmul Mulk'. We need not consider these as also the casual notices which Mutahhar takes, in other poems, of Firuz's eastern as Thatha expedition and his beneficent activities and now turn to Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi, a work on civil and ecclesiastical law, already referred to above. The anonymous editor who has revised and enlarged the original Arabic text, at the request of the Sultan, eulogises the latter for his religiosity and piety and determination to act according to the 'Shariat' (canon law) and practices of the Prophet, and rules of the faith as interpreted and formulated in the light of the 'Fatwas' (judicial decrees) of the 'honest Ulamas' and the pronouncements of the 'extremely cautious' Fuqahās (Jurists). Some of the current traditions, as recorded in this work, in the form of questions and answers, when closely examined, will be found to be very helpful to a student of history. One of the controversial questions was the right of the people to rise in revolt and fight against a bad and oppressive ruler. The influence of Ibn-i-Taimiyya,[33] a noted externalist scholar (d. 728=1328), who was not prepared to justify the rising of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Husain, the martyr of Karbala against such a ruler as Yazid or the reaction against what had happened more recently in the time of Firuz Shah's cousin and predecessor, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, reveals itself in the following questions and answers. *Q.* 1. If a group of Muslims threw off the yoke of the king, and using force and gaining strength 'established themselves in a city, and when questioned about this revolt, said that the king was tyrannical and had committed oppression on them and other creatures, does the 'Shara' require the king to abstain from oppression and do justice. *A.* It behoves the king to do that. *Q.* 2. When the people do not support the rebels for it is not conformable to 'Shara' to rise against a ruler and

33. Taqiuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Abdul Halim, a famous Hambali theologian and jurist who became a Professor of Hanbali Law at 20 in 681—1282 and had to suffer from imprisonment and loss of employment several times during the course of his chequered existence. It is significant that he was a bitter enemy of innovation (Bid'ā) and was uncomprising in his denunciation of the cult of saints and visitation of tombs and shrines. An inveterate anthropomorphist, he interpreted literally the passage in the Qurān and the tradition referring to the Deity. He combated such sects of the Muslims as Rāfzis or Shiis, Kharjits, Muatazilits or the rationalists etc. Though an extremely orthodox Sunni he differed from the Asharites in the explanation of the Doctrine of Qad'or Pre-destination. One of the features of the Tughlaq times, specially in the days of Firuz Shah, which would be considered in the second instalment, was the conflict between the thoughts of the mystic and the legists. It would suffice to suggest here that the Sufis were more prone to move with the times than the Ulamas and the Jurists.

it behoves the people to support the king, would it not be countenancing oppression in doing so? *A.* No. *Q.* 3. If the people who have risen against the king justify their action not because of his oppressive action but because they consider themselves to be on the right side, are possessed of power and dignity, and claim the kingdom and the territories, would the 'Shara' treat them as rebels or not? *A.* It would treat them as so. *Q.* 4. When such people, in these circumstances, become rebels but have power and dignity, is it conformable to 'Shara' for the king to wage war against them, and is it incumbent on the people to support the king, and kill the rebels so that their mischiefs are ended? *A.* Yes it should be so. *Q.* 5. When these people are declared rebels and they are killed, is it conformable to 'Shara' that they be bathed and buried and prayers are offered to their souls? *A.* No. These few extracts will suffice to show that the Ulama of the age belonged to a group of loyalists and they would not countenance any armed revolt against an established king, however bad and oppressive his rule might be. The main reason actuating such decisions was perhaps the fear to cause disruption among the Muslims.

There is a section on 'Kharāj' and 'Jazya'. One of the questions was about Bait-ul-Māl or the public treasury or exchequer into which payments were made, and according to the sources from which they were derived, they were applicable to different items of expenditure. In answer 4 types are enumerated, namely (1) Bait-ul-Māl Ghanā'im (or war booty) of which one section is 'Madfun' (reserved) and the other is 'Masruf' (current); (2) Bait-ul-Māl-i-Sadaqāt (charities), that is Zakāt to be spent on the poor and the destitutes; (3) Bait-ul-Māl-Khirāj-o-Jazya-o-Ushr' (land revenue, capitation tax, and tithes) to be spent on holy wars; (4) Bait-ul-Māl-i-Amwāl-i-Zāi,ā' (lost or unclaimed property vested in government) such as heirless legacies to be spent on repairing and restoring buildings which have fallen in ruins and other such things. We do not know if such a division was within the domain of abstract theory or it was based on actual facts. But as Firuz Shah is known to have tried to act up to the Divine law as interpreted and developed by the Jurists, the following extracts throwing some light on the position of the non-Muslim subjects are not without some interest to us. *Q.* 1. In which of the 'Bait-ul-Māls' the 'Jazya' taxes from 'Zimmis' is to be deposited? *A.* 'Bait-ul-Māl-i-Kharāj'. *Q.* 2. If Kharāji land comes into possession of Muslims or infidels, big or small, slaves or emancipated, slaves licensed or restricted, men or women, would it be incumbent upon them to pay the Kharāj (land tax)? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 3. If a Muslim king captures the town of the infidels and is in a position to kill them who had fought against the Muslims, make their children slaves, and distribute their lands on the warriors, does the law allow that king to show favours, spare their lives and restore their lands and properties by deducting the

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amount of 'Kharāj' and Jazya? *A.* It does. *Q.* 4. Is it obligatory on the 'Zimmis' (protected non-Muslims) to pay the Kharāj on their residential houses? *A.* No. *Q.* 5. If a Zimmi brings a watse land into cultivation would he, in law, become its owner? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 6. If a Zimmi who has made the lands adjoining his house into gardens and cultivated fields by irrigating them from the 'Ushri' water, would the law require him to pay Kharāj or 'Ushr' *A.* Ushr. *Q.* 7. If a Muslim king thought it expedient to send a group of Zimmis from one town to another, would the lands in the other town be treated as 'Kharāj or not'? *A.* It would be so treated. *Q.* 8. If a group of Kharāj paying people fled and left their lands, and the king settles their lands in 'Muqātia' with others and deposits the proceeds thereof in Bait-ul-Māl, is that action conformable to law? *A.* Yes.

The other extracts, taken at random, are no less interesting. (1) If the Muslim soldiers take some people captive in 'Dār-ul-Harb' (a country where Islam does not prevail) and want to cut off their ears and noses and then kill them, would it be conformable to law? *A.* No. (2) If a Muslim whose parents include a Muslim and an infidel wants to join a holy war and he or she who is an infidel denies him the permission out of affection for the son, is the latter allowed by 'Shara' to embark on the war in the fact of that opposition? *A.* No. *Q.* 2. If both father and mother are infidels and they deny the permission for fear of the fight against the infidels, is the son authorised in law to disregard such denial and embark on the war? *A.* It is of no consequence (Bāka Nīst). *Q.* 3. If a Muslim had non-Muslim Zimmi parents, is he allowed to turn them out of his house? *A.* No. *Q.* 4. If a Zimmi purchases (ransoms) his captive brother, sister or aunts, would they be treated, in law, as free? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 5. If a Zimmi falls ill, and a Musalman goes out to visit the sick, is he allowed to do so? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 5. If a Muslim commits the murder of a Zimmi, what would be the amount of the 'Diyat' (retaliatory fine) of that Zimmi? *A.* It would be equal to the 'Diyat', of a Muslim. *Q.* 6. If a Zimmi builds an idol temple in one of the towns of the Musalmans, which is a place distinguished for the observance of Islamic rites, does the 'Shara' require that ruler and Muslims there to forbid him to erect such a temple? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 7. If an old idol temple has fallen in ruins and the Zimmis want to re-erect the building there, will the 'Shara' allow them to do so? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 8. If the Zimmis have ancient idol temples in certain villages, does the 'Shara' permit the Musulmans to damage or demolish those temples? *A.* No. *Q.* 9. And if the Zimmis want to errect idol temples in those villages which have come into the possession of the Musulmans, can the latter forbid the former to do so? *A.* They can. *Q.* 10. If the Zimmis enquire from the Muslims about the path leading

to the idol temple, does it behove the Muslims to show that path? *A.* No. *Q.* 11. If a Muslim and a Zimmi bring complaints against each other, who would have a preference? *A.* The Muslim. *Q.* 12. If a Muslim is indebted to a Zimmi, say to the extent of 100 Dirhams, and that Muslim practises procrastination in the payment of his debts, does the 'Shara' permit the creditor Zimmi to imprison the debtor Muslim? *A.* Yes.

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HAD BUKKA A MUSLIM SON?

SHRI P. B. DESAI

IN his book, *Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara*, published in 1988 by the University of Madras, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has propounded questionable theories concerning the origin of Vijayanagara. They deserve to be subjected to searching scrutiny by scholars interested in historical research. One such is the assertion that Bukka I, the second ruler of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a Muhammadan Son. The passage containing this aspersion runs as follows (p. 96 n.):

> "It is interesting to note that Bukka I, the younger brother of Harihara, had a Muhammadan son. An imperfectly dated inscription from Śimōga (Ci. 65) mentions Gengu Salār, son of Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar. The date of the inscription as engraved is *Śakavarsha sahasrada Vikramavarshada*. The expression *sahasrada* means 'one thousand': and it is evident that the engraver had omitted something after. 'and'. Bl. 8, dated about 1397, refers to the rebuilding of the *gopura* at Bēlūr which Ganga Salār, the Turuka of Kallubarage had come and burnt. The Ganga Salār mentioned in Bl. 8, appears to be the same as Ganga Salār of Ci.65, for the names of the two persons agree; and they lived about the same time. It is not unlikely that Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar had a son who was a Muhammadan."

It is unfortunate that this thesis has remained almost unchallenged all these years. Recently, while reinvestigating the problem relating to the beginning of Vijayanagara, my attention was riveted on this queer plea and curiosity induced me to go to the original sources alleged to support the proposition.

The method adopted by the learned author to drive at his contention is remarkable. He starts with a categorical announcement regarding the existence of a Muhammadan son. Ever at once this creates an impression that it is an approved fact. Next, an attempt is made to cite some evidence in support of this theory. This is followed by a showdown statement of probability. All this is unfair in true historical research.

Now, let us examine the contents of the inscriptions mentioned as evidence in the above thesis. We have nothing to say about Bēlūr 8 (*EC*, vol. V, part I) which belongs to the regnal period of Harihara II. This describes the renovation of the *gōpura* of the Chennakeśava temple at Belūr, said to have been destroyed during the raid of Turuka Ganga Śalāra of Kallubarage. This Ganga Śalāra (correctly, Sālār) was, most probably, a general under the Bahamani rulers as suggested by his epithet Sālār which means in Persian a ' leader '.

But the real trouble centres round the second inscription (*EC*, vol. VII, Channagiri 65), which has been wrongly read and erroneously interpreted. This is an epigraph on a memorial stone purporting to record the death of a hero and the circumstances connected with this event. The hero was Hiriya Nāgeya Nāyaka who fought on the side of Ganga Selāra. In appreciation of this brave deed, Aḍapada Nāge Nāyaka, younger brother of the deceased, received as a posthumous reward in the form of *nettarukoḍagi* (*i.e.*, reward for the sacrifice of life), gift of the village Bankekere from the *Nāḍu Taḷavāra* (Guard of the Region) Yere Permeya Nāyaka. According to the information in the early part of the inscription, the hero's demise took place in the course of an attack launched against Seṭṭihaḷḷi-paṭṭaṇa by Ganga Selāra, son of Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar. Originally there seems to have been engraved an expression to qualify Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar ; but it is damaged and lost. The gift village Bankekere must be identical with Bankīkere where the inscription was found.

The epigraph under reference belongs to a category of inscriptions found in large numbers in the Karnāṭak areas, familiarly called the hero-stones. They usually describe the fights of warriors who participated in the raids of one local chief against another and laid down their lives. Such records are more common in the period preceding the age of Vijayanagara. The event described in this epigraph is connected with a local fight as seen from the details and has nothing to do with an alien invasion.

The inscription bears a date ; but it is not correctly engraved. The Śaka year conflicts with the cyclic year cited. The cyclic year Vikrama corresponded with Śaka 1022 and not with Śaka 1000. But such discrepancies are not uncommon in epigraphic records. Taking into consideration the relevant factors, A.D. 1100 suggested as the date of the record by Rice, does not appear to be far beside the mark. Thus there is no justification for pushing the date of the present epigraph to the end of the 14th century and tagging it on with the Bēlūr record, as the learned author has done just to suit his imagination.

Further, it is a palpable error to identify Ganga Śalāra of Bēlūr 8 with Ganga Selāra of Channagiri 65. Whereas the epithet *Śalāra* of the former chief must be the Persian *Sālār* as determined by the context, *Selāra* of the latter appears to be either an appellation or a family title. This may be compared with Silāra, Seḷaṛa and other variants of Śilāhāra, met with in inscriptions.[1] Mere similarity in names is misleading and in the absence of other cogent evidence, it is risky to base one's conclusions on such a shaky foundation.

The greatest pitfall in the above argument is the confusion made by the learned author between Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar and Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar. No sane scholar would commit such a grave blunder. Explanation is unnecessary to demonstrate that the two are different and apart. Assuming for a moment that Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar is the same as Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar, it would be sheer height of ignorance to connect the latter with the Vijayanagara ruler who would hardly have been introduced in such an unceremonious manner without his regal titles.

It becomes thus clear from the above scrutiny that there is not an iota of evidence to postulate the existence of a Muhammadan son of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. The learned historian of the *Origin of Vijayanagara* has, in his enthusiasm to display originality, not only travestied the historical facts, but also landed himself into a ridiculous position by advancing highly reprehensible views on a most solemn subject.

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, pp. 256 and 586.

A NEW COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYANAGARA KING ACHYUTA RAYA

SHRI A. V. RAMABRAHMAM

I. History of the Plate :

THIS new copperplate inscription of Achyuta Raya is found in the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.* Its scale is 2 inches by 2 inches and contains marks of Surya and Chandra with a round hole in the middle. Its size is 14½" in length and 7½" in breadth. The inscription is engraved on both sides of the plate. It consists of 41 lines on the outer side and 25 lines on the inner. The *modus operandi* of the Epigraphic writing denotes the type of Telugu dialect as it was in vogue during that period. For the expression of synonyms for the villages mentioned in the inscription and for the purpose of attestation Nandinagari and Telugu scripts were also used.

II. Language and Alphabet :

The scribe is very careless in his writing. The script used is Telugu and Sanskrit. The writing is very careless and faulty. The language is Telugu with admixture of Sanskrit.

III. Subject-matter of the Inscription :

The inscription contained in the copperplate relates to the grant of two villages by Achyuta Raya who ruled Vijayanagar from 1530-1542 A.D. to two persons by name Muddappa and Kondappa in the year 1534 (Saka 1456). The grant made was by nature a gift by sale which is unique. The transaction involved not only a grant but also a sale in as much as there was consideratin to the Raya in executing the document, of 110 Varahas which he received from the grantees. The villages granted were Alamur and Vyoleru. The recital of the grant denotes an aspect of administration of the Vijaya Nagara Empire at the time. It also shows the business-like care of the Emperor in having taken money from private persons for such official transactions.

*The Honorary General Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, Professor R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.) has kindly given it to me and also helped me in preparing this article.

Text of the Inscription

(First Side)

OM! Śubhamastu / Avighnamastu / Ālamūruku Pratināma /
maina..... Vyôlêruku Pratināma maina /
..... OM Svasti Śri Vijayābhyudaya Śālivāha /
Na Śaka Varushambulunjā & Yêndlu Agu Nêti Vijaya Samvva /
charam Śrāvana Śu Lu Śrimān Mahā Rājādhi Rāja Rāja Paramê /
śwara Śri Veera Pratāpa Veera Achyuta Rāya Dêva Mahā Rāya laiyya /
Vāru Narapati Simhāsanam Vidyānagaramandu Ratna Simhāsanārū /
dhulai Prithhvī Sāmbrajyam chêyuchum Nundadda gamnnu
Kavundyim /
Nyasa gôthram Āpastambba Sūtram Yejuśśākhādhyayu laina Śrima /
Tuka Ipappeddi Jôśyula Pautrunḍḍu Mallappa putrunḍḍu Muddappa /
Ku Kavundyimnyasa gôtaram Kātyāyana sūtram Śukla Yejuśśākha /
dyyayulaina Poulaṭi Yallappa Pautruḍḍu Ramarusu Putrunḍḍu /
Konddappa Sri Putra Jnāti Sāmamttadyadya Sahā Grāma
madhyamam /
ddu Pūrvāhnamanddu Kūrchundi Vappi Yichhina Krayadana Śāsana /
Patra Krama Meṭlamnnanu mêmu mā yavasara nimityainaimīceta /
Nêmu Pucchukomnna Rokham Kalaparivartta Kanaku cella
cellubaḍi pri /
ya Śrāhi ghaṭṭi Pakṣimudramalluga ΛΛΟ Akṣarāla Ive Nūta Padi
Varahā /
lu Puchukoni Svasti Śri Vidyā Nagaram Tūrpuvākitiki cellehôradurg /
am Jagjatapi Gutti Ki cella muntti madugu Peṭhaku celle
kūḍeṭi valitānaku /
Celle dombbali Kaumalipalleku Pratināmamaina Lakshmi
Nārasumhma Puram Gramama/
amddu māku kala yêka satvamsṭhala Karnika Svathsam
Kavundim Nyasa Gôtram Ka /
Tsāyana Sūtram Sukla Yejuśśākhadhyayulaina Mādāyādi
Paulaṭi Nagappa /
Kumārudu Timmappa Amaśānaku Pôgā, Mā Amaśānaku Vachina Rem/
ḍḍu Grāmālluku Vivaram. Swasti Sri Vidyanagaram Turpuvākiṭi
cellehô /
Radurgam Jagatāpi Guttiki celle Kanagānipalle Peṭhaku celle Sanḍda
Vanaviki /
Paschimabhagamandu Ālamuru Vyôlêru i Rendu
grāmālamanddalimnni /
Bharatanirnayam Grāmôtpannamaina dvādaśi samkhya catuppalu
mūdu pradhama /
Catuṣṭamandu dvitīya vritti Ālamūru Vyôlerū i Rendu gramā lamdda
limnni Mā /

Kukala Yêka Satvamthyala Karnika Svouṭṭham Meeku
Krayadanamgga Ichinā /
Ram Ikarnika Svaṭsṭhaluku Vachina Nidhi Nikeṣapa Jala Pāṣana
Ākṣina Āgāmi Siddha /
Sādhambulaguanēti Aṣṭa Bhôga Tejasvammayai talumnnu Mī Sri
Putra Jnā /
ti Samam ttadāyadya anubhavamavunattu gamnu mī putra pautrapara/
am Paryāmgānnu Āchandrārkadhyimganu Anubhavimppa galavāru. I/
Krayadānanāku Purvakraya bādhadulu lêvu Aparakraya bādha /
dulu Kalpinchagalavarām kāmu. Idāni Śri Putra
Jnāti Samamttadāya /
dya sammatamga Nênu Nā Svana Ruchina, Vappi Ichina Krayadāna
Śāsana Patram /
I Krayadāna Śāsana Patrānaku Sākṣulu-ciṭyāla Hanumam /
tabhaṭla Kumārudu Nāgambhaṭṭumnnu—Samudrāla Bhimā Bhaṭṭa /
Kumārudu Omnnubhayamnnu—Sagaram Veerappa Komarudu /
Virupājamnni Kurugunṭta Ṣtala Karanam Nāgappa Komārudu,
Lakṣumarusunnu, Poticheruvu Ṣtala Karanam Pālacharla Lakṣuma /

Second Side

Yakomārudu Yellamarusunnu, Tala pulicā /
Mena Bhatlam Kōmarudu Aoubhaḷa Bhaṭlunnu Maddi /
Gubba Ṣtala Karanam Nāgappa Komarudu Nagarusum /
NNu Ālamūru Venkataḍribhaṭla Komarudu cem /
nnubhaṭlumnu, Môrataṭi yajamānyudu Śanaghavaram /
Ganggādharabhaṭla Kōmārudu Lakṣumanabhatumnnu /
Maddigubba Viswanadhabhaṭla Kumārudu cemnnu bhaṭumnnu /
Bommepartti Narasambhaṭla Kumārudu Narasambhattumnnu /
Veerala sammati Palati Yalalppa Poutrunḍu Ramaru /
Suputrunḍu Konḍappa Vrasina Svahastapu Vrala Krayadāna Śā /
sana patram Dāyādi Sammati Vralu..... ..... /
.....Sakṣula Vappitālu..... /
.....Ātlamūru Cenubhaṭla Sakṣivrālu..... /
.....
.....
.....
Patra ṭhsuni sammatina dāyādi sammatina sakṣula sam /
mmatina Ālamūrugrāma Agasāla Bhutam cina Nagoju Ko /
Mārudu Nagoju cekkina Kraya dāna Śāsana Patramu.

TRANSLATION

May good happen ! May obstacles disappear ! On the victorious Śālivāhana Śaka year 1456 corresponding to the day of the year Vijaya, Śrāvana Śuddha, Vidiya, Śrīman Mahā Rājādhi Rāja Rāja Paramêśwara

1713

Śrī Veera Pratapa Veera Achyuta Raya Dêva Mahārāyala Ayyavaru, sitting on the throne is laid with precious stones, in the fore-noon at Vidya Nagaram and reigning over the earth in his Imperial Majesty agrees to execute the following "KRAYA DĀNA ŚĀSANA PATRA-MU" (Regal document conferring Gift by Sale) to (1) Muddappa, belonging to Kaundinyasa Gôtram, Apastamba Sūtram, Yejuśśākha the grand son of Ipapeddi Jôsulu and son of Mallappa and (2) to another Koṇḍappa belonging to Kauṇḍinyasa Gôtram, Kātyāyana Sutram, Śukla Yejuśśākha, grand-son of Paulati Yellappa and son of Ramarusu. As we have taken from you hard cash of 110 varahas (one hundred and ten varahas only) to meet our urgent requirements Lakshmi Narasimhapuram village, a synonym for Kaumalipalli in which the share belonging to us after separating the item belonging to Timmappa, a co-heir of ours, and who was the son of Paulati Nagappa and of the Kavuṇḍinyasa Gôtram and Śukla Yejuśśākha.

Details of the Two Villages Covered by the Grant

Ālamūru and Vyôlêru in their entirety—decided as if by Bharata for grant. Out of the 12 divisions of the village of Lakshmi Narasumhapuram again subdivided into three portions of four divisions each, and that in respect of the villages of Ālamūru and Vyôlêru situated in the second division of the first portion, we alienate all our rights as Krayadanam (gift by sale). From this time onwards you are entitled to enjoy all the benefits accruing therefrom in the present and future including the treasure troves, water, rocks, trees etc., together with your sons and grand sons for all time to come, that is as long as sun and moon exist. Further there are no difficulties which tend to render the document invalid either in the period preceding the transaction nor we would frustrate or circumvent the grant by creating impediments in future. This is given under my seal and signature and with my full consent and for proper consideration.

This was attested by eleven persons. The writer of the document was Kondappa who is one of the grantees. This was engraved by a gold-smith from Ālamūr by name Nagoji.

1714

JASRAT KHOKHAR

Dr. K. S. Lal

Of the many trouble shooters who arose in the wake of Timur's catastrophic invasion of Hindustan, Jasrat Khokhar proved to be an unmitigated menace to the Sultanate of Delhi throughout the reigns of Mubarak Shah (A.D. 1421-1434) and his successor Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1434-1445). He also provides a specimen of the numerous reckless adventurers who harried the land during the first-half of the fifteenth century.

Jasrat was the brother[1] of Shaikha Khokhar. Shaikha was a chief of the Khokhar tribe,[2] and was the master of the country-side between the Ravi and the Chenab. When Amir Timur was marching through southern Punjab (A.D. 1398) on his way to Delhi, Jasrat Khokhar was courageous enough to fight the conqueror between Tulamba and Dipalpur. He was, however, worsted and with great difficulty escaped to his brother.[3] Taking advantage of the confusion created by

1. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, text (hereafter abbreviated as Ferishtah), vol. I, p. 156 says that Jasrat was the brother of Shaikha Khokhar. So says Sharafuddin in the *Zafarnamah*. Yahya in his *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shai*, Bib. Ind. Text (hereafter abbreviated as *TMS*, p. 193 has 'Jasrat Shaikha Khokhar'. Badaoni in his *Mutakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Bib. Ind. Text (hereafter as Badaoni), vol. I, p. 289 mistakingly calls him the son of Shaikha Khokhar.

2. Ferishtah, vol. I, p. 156 ff. makes the mistake of calling Jarat a Gakhkhar. The Khokhars, the Gakhkhars and the Kakars are generally confounded with one another, but these are three different tribes. The Khokhars are of indigenous origin and belong to the race of foreign invaders who came to India prior to Muslim conquest. They live on both sides of the Jhelum, from Mianwali to Jhang-Maghiana, and chiefly in the Shahpur district of the Punjab. In the fifteenth century they were in great strength in the region between Chenab and Ravi in northern Punjab extending upto the Kashmir hill tracts. The Khokhars are split up into Muslim, Rajput and Jat sections.

The Gakhkhars, who claim a Persian origin, belong to one of the invading races of India. They live in Attock, Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts in the Punjab; Hazara district in the N.W.F. region and Jammu region west of the Chenab.

The Kakars are Afghans and inhabit northern Baluchistan. The Gakhkhars and Kakars are Muhammadans.

Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I, pp. 456, 486.

Gakkhars in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Luzac & Co., London, *Punjab Census Report*, 1881, 149.

Punjab District Gazetteers on Attock, Shahpur and Rawalpindi; *IHQ*, vol. XV, 1939, p. 49n.; *JASB*, vol. XL, 1871, pt. I, p. 67.

3. Yazdi, *Zafarnamah*, II, 57; *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri*, *ED*, vol. III, p. 416; Mir Khwand, *Rausat-us-Safa*, Bombay text, VI, 105.

Timur's invasion Shaikha Khokhar occupied Lahore, and was later killed by the conqueror's grandson Pir Muhammad on account of his "treachery."[4] Jasrat was taken prisoner and carried away to Samarqand. After some years he effected his escape.[5] Returning to his home land he contrived to resume the leadership of his tribe, and entrenched himself in the Khokhar stronghold of Sialkot.[6] For some time he waited and watched the developments in the country, and when an opportunity presented itself, he plunged himself into the whirlpool of its politics.

It had so happened that Sultan Ali Shah of Kashmir, successor to Sikandar the iconoclast, while going to pay a visit to his father-in-law, the Rajà of Jammu, had left the administration in the hands of his brother Shahi Khan. When he returned after some time, Shahi Khan refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon, Ali Shah with the help of the Rajas of Jammu and Rajouri defeated and expelled his brother from Srinagar. At this Shahi Khan sought the help of Jasrat Khokhar. They defeated Ali Shah in Jamadi-ul-Avval 828 H (May-June, 1420 A.D.),[7] and with Jasrat's help Shahi Khan ascended the throne of Kashmir as Zainul Abidin.[8]

This success of Jasrat Khokhar had earned him a large booty captured in the Kashmir war and the friendship of its new king. A year later the death of Khizr Khan and the chaotic state of the Sultanate encouraged Jasrat to formulate schemes of conquering Delhi.[9] In return for his debt of gratitude, Zainul Abidin actively helped Jasrat in his plans with men and money.[10] Finding Jasrat Khokhar's position thus greatly strengthened, Tughan Rai who had been relieved of Jalandhar during his last revolt in Khizr Khan's time and had escaped into the Khokhar country, also joined the standard of Jasrat.[11]

Immediately after the death of Khizr Khan, Jasrat began to harry the Punjab, in Jamadi-ul-Avval 824H (May, 1421 A.D.). Starting from Sialkot he crossed the Ravi and the Beas and fell upon Rai Firoz Main, Governor of Ludhiana, at Talwandi.[12] Getting a free hand, Jasrat ravaged the country from Ludhiana to Rupar along the southern

4. *ZN.*, vol. II, p. 171 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 159.
5. *JASB.*, vol. XL, 1871, pt. I, p. 80.
6. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 163 ; vol. II, p. 864. Also Briggs, vol. IV, pp. 467-69.
7. *TMS*, p. 194.
8. Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, pp. 381-83 ; Ferishtah, vol. p. 163 ; *AT.* De, p 800.
9. *TMS*, pp. 193-94. Ferishtah, vol. I, p. 163 ; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Bib. Ind. De p. 800.
10. Ferishta, vol. II, p. 842 ; Briggs, vol. IV, p. 469.
11. *TMS*, p. 191.
12. Talwandi is situated 20 miles S. W. of Ludhiana. It seems to be a corrupted form of village Tulucе on the north bank of the Sutlej. Rennel's map facing p. 65 and Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, p. 382n.

bank of the Sutlej, and then crossing the river arrived at Jalandhar. After Tughan Rai's last rebellion Jalandhar had been placed in the charge of Zirak Khan. Invested and hard-pressed Zirak agreed to the terms advanced by Jasrat Khokhar,[13] but when he came out of the fort he was treacherously imprisoned by the Khokhar chief and carried off to Ludhiana. Jasrat left Ludhiana on the 20th Jamadi-ul-Akhir (June 22, 1421) and arrived in Sirhind,[14] which was held by Sultan Shah Lodi on behalf of the Sultanate of Delhi. Jasrat laid siege to the fort, but because of the rainy season he could not take it. This gave time to Sultan Shah to appeal to Delhi.

The request of Sultan Shah for succour lashed the newly crowned Mubarak Shah into action, and in spite of the rains he started for Sirhind in Rajjab 824H. (July, 1421 A.D.).[15] He had only reached Kohila[16] near Samanah, when Jasrat raised the siege of Sirhind on 27th Rajjab 824H. (Monday, 28th July, 1421 A.D.) and fell back on Ludhiana. There he released Zirak Khan, or the latter managed to contrive his escape.[17] Zirak joined the Sultan at Samanah who now marched towards Ludhiana. On arrival there he found that Jasrat had crossed over to the northern side of the Sutlej. Due to the swelling river an engagement was postponed, and the two adversaries marched towards Rupar on the opposite banks of the river, each keeping a watch over the movements of the other. Mubarak Shah moved to Qabulpur, and Jasrat on the other bank also kept pace with him. On 11th Shawwal (Thursday, 9th October)[18] Mubarak Shah detached an advance party headed by Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, Zirak Khan and other Amirs with six elephants and ordered it to march ahead, cross the river at a convenient place and deliver a surprise attack at the enemy. They marched during the night and early in the morning forded the river at Rupar.[19] Jasrat was taken by complete surprise, and when the sultan, who had also forded the river a little later, advanced upon him Jasrat fled pell-mell, without even making a show of resistance.[20] The Sultan pursued the enemy, killed many of his men and captured his equippage. Jasrat fled by night to Jalandhar and then crossed the Beas and later the Ravi closely pursued by the king. The Khokhar chief then crossed the Chenab and

13. *TMS*, pp. 194-195.

14. Sirhind or Fatehgarh is in 30° 88′ N and 76° 27′ E. The spelling Sirhind is modern. Sirhind means Lion-Forest, but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sahir Rao, a ruler of Lahore. *Imp. Gaz., Punjab*, vol. II, p. 309.

15. *TMS*, p. 195.

16. Kohila may be identified with modern Koi or Khoi a village 48 miles south of Ludhiana. Samana too is 17 miles S. W. of Patiala too.

17. *TMS*, p. 196 and Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, p. 382, say that he was released. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 163 says that he escaped. *TA*, De only says that he joined the Sultan.

18. *TMS*, p. 196 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 164.

19. *Ibid.*, also T.A. De, p. 301.

20. *TMS*, p. 196.

entered into Tilhar or Tikhar[21] region situated in the Kashmir hill tracts. Mubarak Shah continued the chase in which he was actively helped by Rai Bhim of Jammu, an old enemy of Jasrat.[22] The Rai himself went across the Chenab and destroyed Tilhar which was Jasrat's strongest place of refuge, but Jasrat had escaped. Laden with booty and convinced of the futility of a wild goose chase, the Sultan returned to Delhi *via* Lahore in Muharram 825 H. (Dec., 1421-Jan. 1422 A.D.).

No sooner than Mubarak Shah had moved out of the Punjab, Jasrat Khokhar bestirred himself once again. With the help of local Zamindars he collected a large force, crossed the Chenab and the Ravi, and stood before Lahore in Jamadiul Akhir (May 1422).[23] He attacked the city twice, but on both the occasions was worsted by its governor Malik Mahmud Hasan. Finding his position none the better, Jasrat retired to Kalanor, situated 17 miles west of Gurdaspur town. Rai Bhim, who was marching to the aid of Mahmud Hasan, attacked Jasrat at Kalanor, but the latter succeeded in retreating towards the Beas (in Ramzan, August-September, 1422). Meanwhile Mubarak Shah had despatched Sikandar Tuhfa to join Mahmud Hasan. Sikandar forded the Satluj at Buhi and drove Jasrat beyond Beas and Ravi back into the hills of Tilhar.[24] Malik Sikandar arrived in Lahore on 12th Shawwal 825H. (29th September, 1422 A.D.) and in company with Malik Rajjab Nadira governor of Dipalpur,[25] Malik Sultan Shah Lodi Governor of Sirhind and Rai Firoz entered the Jammu territory. Rai Bhim joined them there and they combed the area of Chenab, but Jasrat was nowhere to be found. Thinking pursuit of no avail in that difficult terrain, the royalists returned to Lahore.

Jasrat kept quiet for some time. This made the royal commanders complacent. All of a sudden the Khokhar rebel attacked Rai Bhim in Jamadi-ul-Avval 826 H (April, 1423 A.D.), ravaged his countryside and killed him in battle. He obtained large quantities of arms and treasures belonging to the Raja, enrolled ten to twelve thousand horse and foot with it, and began to ravage the districts of Dipalpur and Lahore. Sikandar Tuhfa, the new governor of Lahore, marched out to meet him, crossed the Chenab in his pursuit, but then had returned as usual.

21. *TMS*, p. 197 has Tikhar. Elliot's Mss. also had the same, *ED*, vol. IV, p. 56. Badaoni has Talhar and in a note Ranking adds (p. 383) that it is " in the Kashmir hill tracts. " Ferishtah calls it Bisal. Bisal or Bissuli is on the Ravi and therefore incorrect.

22. *TMS*, p. 197.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

24. Badaoni, vol. I, has Puhi. *TMS*, p. 199 and later p. 230 also has Buhi. According to Ranking, vol. I, p. 384n, "Puhi in the text is probably identical with Poni." Ferishta, vol. I, p. 164 has Lohi. Also *ED*, vol. IV, p. 77 which has Pohi.

25. Dipalpur is in Montgomery District, 30° 40′ N 73° 32′ E.

Once again Jasrat had been made to retire into his hilly retreat. He was much disappointed. He was finding it hard to face the Sultan's forces in an open engagement, and this hide-and-seek warfare could not go on indefinitely. At any rate it could not win him the possession of even the Punjab, not to speak of the Sultanate. So after great thought Jasrat decided to invite outside help. He started negotiations with Shaikh Ali, a descendant of Chaghtai, and governor of Kabul on behalf of Suyurghtamish Mirza, a grandson of Timur, and his successor Masaud Mirza.[26] The news of these negotiations naturally created consternation in Delhi. Mubarak Shah at once appointed the experienced Malik Mahmud Hasan as governor of Multan and Siwistan, to prepare to meet the challenge. However, Shaikh Ali did not come.

During the next five years Jasrat Khokhar just waited and watched. The Sultanate of Delhi shorn of its past strength and reduced in territory was passing through a very difficult time. Jaunpur was fighting it continually and Malwa occasionally, but the worst fact was that the revenue of the Sultanate could be collected only by sending yearly expeditions. Withal the rulers and zamindars of Katehar, Bayana, Mewat, Gwalior, Etawah and many other regions were openly defying the Sultanate's authority. Finding the Sultan ever occupied with the affairs of the east, Jasrat at last moved out again. In Zilqada 831H. (Aug.-Sept. 1428 A.D.) he besieged Kalanor and defeating its governor Rai Ghalib, proceeded to Jalandhar which he thoroughly sacked. Then he returned to the siege of Kalanor. Such was the situation when Mubarak Shah ordered Zirak Khan governor of Samanah and Islam Khan governor of Sirhind to march to the aid of Malik Tuhfa. But before their arrival in Lahore, Sikandar with Ghalib Khan had defeated Jasrat and had set out in his pursuit. They had contacted him at Kangra beyond the northern bank of the Beas and had completely routed him in a severe engagement. Jasrat had fled the field leaving behind all the spoils he had collected at Jalandhar, and had retreated towards Tilhar. Thereafter the royal generals had returned to Lahore.

It had been a crushing defeat for Jasrat. He could not take any offensive for the time being. But his determination had not failed him. He was only marking time, all the while trying to strengthen his forces. However, within a couple of years the Sultanate had to deal with two such adversaries that its resources were sorely strained and its strength crippled. In June-July 1480 Faulad Turkbachcha had unfurled the standard of revolt at Tabarhinda (Bhatinda) and had hired Shaikh Ali

26. *Baburnamah*, Jarret, p. 882. Also Brown's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, vol. II, p. 134.

Yahya did not know the name of Masaud Mirza and calls him only "the son of Saratamish." *TMS*, p. 201 & n. Also *ED*, vol. IV, p. 59n.

of Kabul for a sum of 200,000 tankahs.[27] Shaikh Ali had not been able to respond to an earlier call of Jasrat Khokhar, but now he marched into the country with a large force and created such havoc in the Punjab as was perhaps second only to Timur's catastrophic invasion itself. All the armies and generals of Mubarak Shah were deployed against him, but it was not before inflicting severe wounds on the Punjab that Shaikh Ali retired after a year in July-August 1431.[28]

Jasrat Khokhar thought it the right time to once again try his strength with the Sultanate while it was still grovelling under the blows of Shaikh Ali. Many Khokhar leaders had joined Shaikh Ali on his devastating march,[29] but Jasrat struck only after his return. In Rabi-ul-Avval 835H. (Nov.-Dec. 1431 A.D.)[30] he came down from Tilhar and crossing the Chenab, the Ravi and the Beas had an encounter with Malik Sikandar Tuhfa near Jalandhar. Sikandar was defeated and his horse having got stuck up in the mire, he was taken prisoner. Carrying his captive along with him, Jasrat dashed upon Lahore and besieged it. At this time Shaikh Ali once again arrived in Multan at the instigation of Jasrat Khokhar[31] as also to avenge his last defeat. He marched along the Jhelum, sacking and pillaging. Faulad Turkbachcha also raised his head and began to harry the Punjab. The whole of the land of the Five Rivers was now at the mercy of these bandit invaders and rebels and the suffering of the people knew no limit.

Sultan Mubarak Shah was completely confounded at this trun of events, and did not know how to deal with the situation. At last in Jamadi-ul-Avval 835H. (Jan.-Feb. 1432 A.D.)[32] he marched with a large force towards Lahore en route to Multan. He sent Sarwarul Mulk the Vazir to Lahore and himself arrived at Samanah. This had the desired effect. Jasrat raised the siege of Lahore and retreated to Tilhar carrying with him the precious prisoner Sikanadar Tuhfa. Shaikh Ali also retreated towards Bartot or Marot.[33] Having somehow settled the affairs in the west, Mubarak Shah returned to Delhi.

27. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
28. *TMS*, p. 221 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
29. *TMS*, p. 230 ; *TA*, De, p. 315 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
30. *TMS*, p. 228 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
31. *TMS*, p. 225 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
32. *TMS*, p. 225 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
33. *TMS*, p. 225 has Bartot and so has Haji, vol. III, p. 917. Many Mss. of *TA* also have Bartot while its Bib. Ind. text has Martut, p. 148, De p. 316 n. 4. Prof. Hodivala suggests that the place meant perhaps may be Marot or Marwat, now a tehsil in Bannu district, N.W.F. province. It contains the town of Lakki. (Lakki-Marwat is now a railway station, 87 miles S.E. of Bannu.
IG, XVII, p. 213.
Constable, p. 24 De.
Hodivala, p. 409.

The disturbed state of the Punjab had been taken advantage of by the chiefs of other regions, especially Samanah, Bayanah and Gwalior. But as soon as the Sultan turned to deal with them, Jasrat Khokhar came down to Bajwara, 25 miles N.E. of Jalandhar, defeated its governor Malik Allahdad, and compelled him to seek refuge in the foot-hills of Kothi.[34] Shaikh Ali also arrived from Kabul and occupied Lahore without any opposition and pillaged the land between Dipalpur and Lahore with impunity. Only when Mubarak Shah marched into the Punjab did Shaikh Ali abandon the province. At Dipalpur, Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, who had secured his release from Jasrat on payment of a heavy ransom,[35] came to pay respects to the Sultan. He was given the title of Shamsul Mulk and later on the governorship of Bayanah was also conferred on him.

What Jasrat Khokhar was planning next, we do not know. Perhaps because of old age he was keeping quiet. His year of birth is not known, but even if he was twenty when he opposed Timur in 1398 A.D. he was now fifty-five years of age. Constant warfare must have told on his health. Moreover, Faulad Turkbachcha had been killed in 1433 and there was no hope of help from Shaikh Ali. Jasrat did not take any major offensive hereafter. He did not stir even when in Rajjab 837H. (Feb. 1434 A.D.)[36] Mubarak Shah was murdered at Delhi through the machinations of Sarwarul Mulk. Delhi became a hot bed of intrigue in the reign of Mubarak's successor Muhammad Shah. Jasrat did try to create some trouble in Samanah in 840H. (1436 A.D.),[37] but he was easily defeated and his country was sacked. He now thought it best to be reconciled with the Delhi Sultanate. When Sikandar Tuhfa, who was appointed to chastise Bahlul Lodi the rising star of Sirhind, sought the co-operation of Jasrat Khokhar in dealing with the Lodi chief, Jasrat lent him a ready hand. His success against Bahlul once again filled Jasrat with confidence. He thought of fighting Bahlul, his rival for power in the Punjab, to a finish and also to fish in the troubled waters of Delhi politics. Sultan Muhammad was so completely demoralised at all this that when in 845 H. (1441 A.D.)[38] he marched to Samanah to deal with Jasrat Khokhar, who was up in arms again, he confirmed Dipalpur and Lahore on Bahlul Lodi which he had earlier seized in spite of royal remonstrances.[39] Muhammad Shah even left the task of chastising Jasrat Khokhar to Bahlul Lodi and himself returned to

34. *TMS*, 227, *TA*, De, p. 817 has foot-hills of Kothi Bajwara. Badaoni does not give the name of the foot-hill.
35. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 168.
36. *TMS*, p. 284; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 169.
37. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 170.
38. *TA*, De, p. 828; Badaoni, vol. I, p. 804; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 171.
39. *ED*, vol. V, p. 78; Dorn, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 44.

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Delhi. Jasrat knew the strength of his adversary, negotiated for peace with Bahlul, and advising him to try to wrest the throne of Delhi from its wretched occupant, faded out of history.

About the end of Jasrat Khokhar we know nothing. With the rise of Bahlul, nothing is heard of this indefatigable warrior. Jasrat's career may be summed up thus. He fought Timur when the latter invaded India. Having failed against him, he helped his brother Shaikha Khokhar in occupying Lahore under the very nose of the terrible Timur. His privations during his imprisonment at Samarqand must have steeled his character. How he contrived his escape from there is not known, but it must have been through some artifice born of cunning. Psychologically, his tribulations in a far-off land must have made him an enemy of the Sultanate of Delhi through whose incompetence he had to suffer so much. When, therefore, he returned and found the Sultanate weak, he struck against it. He fought against the Sultanate for twenty years continually and must have grown grey in the act. His body had failed him, but his animosity to the Sultanate was undiminished. And as if it were, he bequeathed his task to Bahlul Lodi when he held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming the Sultan of Delhi. Jasrat was a brave warrior, though a reckless adventurer. Men of his ilk were abounding in the fifteenth century India.

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POLITICAL HISTORY OF GAṄḌIKŌṬA DURING THE VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD 1336 TO 1669 A.D.

SHRI YELLAPRACADA SRIRAMAMURTY

GANDIKŌTA today is a village of less than two thousand inhabitants situated on a hill on the southern bank of the river Penna, about five miles west of Jammalamaḍugu, Cuḍḍapah district, Āṅdhra Pradēsh. The name is comprised of two Telugu names Gaṅḍi a gorge and Kōṭa a fort. An attempt is made in the following pages to reconstruct the political history of the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma from inscriptions. Under the rule of the Vijayanagara kings the Sīma constitutes an important administrative division. A number of sīmās were grouped into a Rājya. The sīmās in their turn were sub-divided into a number of smaller administrative divisions like Nāḍu, Praṅtya, Thānē and Sthala.

Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma as an administrative division appears in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara period only from the time of Krishṇadēvarāya. An inscription[1] of his time from Gulya, Ālūr Taluk, Bellary district dated in Śaka 1431 refers to the Lord of Yēṭūru in the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma. After the death of Mallikārjuna the districts in Rāyaḷa Sīma fell into disorder. The Sāḷuva usurpation too led to political confusion.[2] The wars between Purushōthama Gajapati and Sāḷuva Narasiṁha aggravated anarchy in that area. Gaṅḍikōṭa and its adjoining territory at that time formed part of Udayagiri rājya.

Krishṇadēvarāya after coming to the throne made some changes in the military organisation. According to Nuniz " he remained after his coronation at Vijayanagara for a year and a half learning the affairs of the kingdom. He collected an army of thirty-five thousand foot

1. Ep. Coll. No. 703 of 1919.

2. The Sambeṭa chief Vīrā Narasiṁharāya who defied the imperial authority was defeated by Dhūli Basivināyuḍu deputed by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha for that purpose. (Further sources : Extract No. 79). Another Sambeta chief Sivarāja who began to collect taxes not only from his Nāyaṅkara but in the neighbouring sīmās was put down by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who demolished the fort (Further sources : Extract No. 80) Sāḷuva Mallidéva of Bommavaram too, an enemy of the Emperor was defeated by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and his fort and palaces were demolished (Further sources : Extract No. 82).

and eight hundred elephants."[3] From Rāyavāchakamu[4] we know that Krishṇadēvarāya sent his spies to ascertain the political condition in various parts of his Empire after coming to the throne. Among the various places to which spies were sent, mention is made of Chaṅdragiri, Caṅḍikōṭa, Kaḍapa and Naṅdyāla sthalās. Krishṇadēvarāya devoted much of his attention in strengthening his military forces because the stability of the Empire depended upon the military organisation. A major portion of the income of the state was spent in reorganising and strengthening the army. He took special care in erecting fortresses and garrisoning them with strong military forces.

Gaṅḍikōṭa was a place of great strategic importance. It would serve Krishṇadēvarāya well as a base of his operations in his future campaigns against the Oriya king who was holding the fort of Udayagiri from the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha on his death-bed requested his successors to capture the forts of "Rāchol, and Odegary and Conadolgi" with their dependent territories which he could not subdue "because time failed him."[5] But no attempt was made by his successors to recover that fort. Krishṇadēvarāya must have realised the strategic importance of Gaṅḍikōṭa and fortified it with a view to use it in his future campaigns against the Gajapati. He formed a new Sīma with Gaṅḍikōṭa as its headquarters.

The extent of the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sima can be fixed approximately from the names of villages mentioned in it in inscriptions. These were identified with villages bearing the same names or with slight changes. Eighty-nine villages mentioned in inscriptions have been identified. These villages are now to be found in the taluks of Pulivenḍala, Proddaṭūr, Jammalamaḍugu, Cuḍḍapah, Kamalāpuram and Badvēl in the Cuḍḍapah district, and the southern portion of the two taluks of Koilkuṇṭla and Sirivēl in the Kurnool district. All this area was constituted into what was then known as Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma. Sīma appears to have been the highest administrative division after the Rājya. In extent Gaṅḍikōṭa was the largest Sīma in the Udayagiri Rājya.

Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma was divided into a number of sub-divisions for the sake of administrative convenience. They were (*a*) Mulikināṭi Sīma[6], (*b*) Poṭladurti Sīma[7], (*c*) Chernūri Sīma[8], (*d*) Sakali Sīma[9]. (*e*) Pulivenḍala

3. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.
4. *Rayavachakamu*, (1933), p. 30 published by the Āṅdhra Sāhitya Parishad as a separate book and edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu.
5. *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 308, 316.
6. Ep. Coll. No. 491 of 1906 ; V. R. 627 Cuḍḍapah.
7. Ep. Coll. No. 326 of 1905.
8. Ep. Coll. No. 326 of 1905. Note: Poṭladurti Sāma and Chernūri Sāma formed part of Mulikināḍu according to this epigraph.
9. Ep. Coll. No. 35 of 1941-42, Ep. Coll. No. 402 of 1926.

Sīma[10] in Mulikināṭi Sīma, (*f*) Pushpagiri Praṅtya[11], (*g*) Vūṭukūru thāne[12] in Cuḍḍapah Sīma in Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma—Vūṭukūrui Sima figures as part of Mulikināḍu also.[13] From these inscriptions it appears that sometimes a sīma incorporated within itself another sīma. Because Gaṅḍikōta Sīma was the largest in extent, it was divided into a number of small sīmās like Poṭladurti Sīma, Chernūri Sīma, Cuḍḍapah Sīma, Sakali Sīma, etc. for administrative convenience. Praṅtya, Thānē and Sthala were smaller administrative divisions than the Sīma and formed part of a Sīma. Of all the sub-divisions in the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma, Mulikināḍu or Mulikināṭi Sīma was the largest in extent and in fact Poṭladurti Sīma, Chernūri Sīma, Puliveṅdala Sīma and Pushpagiri Praṅtya figure as parts of Mulikināḍu or Mulikināṭi Sīma. Such an important place was assigned to Mulikināḍu in the territorial divisions because it enjoyed the status of a big administrative division since the days of the Telugu--Chōdās.

Rulers of Gaṅḍikóṭa:

The early kings of the Saṅgama dynasty used to appoint princes of the Royal family as commandants of the various forts. Uddagiri Virūpanna, Vīra Srī Sāvaṇna Odeya, Saṅgama II, Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadura, Dēvarāya and Rāmachaṅdra were princes related to the imperial family and they were sent as Governors and Rājyās and Commandants of forts so that they would gain administrative experience and military training. But the practice was later on discontinued by the kings of Vijayanagara. In his Āmuktamālyada, Krishṇadēvarāya enunciates the principles that should be followed in selecting ministers and appointing commandants of forts. He writes:

> "Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmins (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak but you give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from enemies."[14]
>
> "Because a Brahmin would stand to his post even in time of danger and would continue to serve though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or a Sudra, it is always advisable for a king to appoint Brahmins as his Officers."[15]
>
> "The Commander (of a fort), if he is weak, having no money, no land, elephants and horses cannot defeat the enemy. So (the king) should give him territory well protected by forts and troops.

10. Ep. Coll. No. 491 of 1906 V. R. 627 Cuḍḍapah.
11. Ep. Coll. No. 425 of 1988-89.
12. Ep. Coll. No. 841 of 1988-89.
13. Ep. Coll. No. 416 of 1988-89.
14. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 207.
15. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 217.

If these are given to anyone but a Brahmin, he may turn against the king himself."[16]

"That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to Dharma, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese (Tel: Pulijunnu) and other articles to last for a generation."[17]

Krishṇadēvarāya appears to have put these maxims strictly into practice. He had formulated these principles out of his own experience. He was a king of great ability and his views on politics proceed from practical experience in that sphere. He appointed Sāḷuva Gōviṇdarāja a Brahmin to rule over the fortress of Gaṇḍikōṭa (Śaka 1457).[18] Sāḷuva Gōviṇdarāja's rule over Gaṇḍikōṭa appears to have come to an end some time before Saka 1448. For in that year three inscriptions obtained from Pōrumāmiḷḷa and Katteragaṇḍla refer to Avasaram Dēmarusayya as the Governor of the fort and the Sīma of Gaṇḍikōṭa.[19] An undated Epigraph from Paṇḍiḷḷapalli during the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya mentions Ayyaparusayya who held Gaṇḍikōṭa Sima as amaram.[20] During the subsequent reign Ayhaparusayya held the Nāyasaṅkara of the Gaṇḍikōṭa Sīma.[21] But he was the governor of the Udayagiri rājya. He gave away the Pārupatya over the Gaṇḍikōṭa Sīma to Sāḷvāka Narasappayya. In Śaka 1462, in the reign of Achyutadēvarāya, a general Timmarusayya, son of Sōmarasayya of Chaṇdragiri figures as the ruler of Gaṇḍikōṭa Sīma.[22] During the same reign, a Brahmin general Bācharasu also ruled over the district of Gaṇḍikōṭa for some time. But this epigraph is not dated and hence it is not possible to say when he actually ruled over Gaṇḍikōṭa Sīma.[23] Krishṇadēvarāya's son-in-law Aḷiya Rāmappayyadēva Mahārāja also held Gaṇḍikōṭa Sīma for some time as his Nāyaṅkara.[24]

Aḷiya Rāmarāya, having lost his ground at Vijayanagara due to the machinations of Salakam Timmayya repaired to the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa which by that time became the seat of the Pemmasāni chiefs. When the Rāya demanded the surrender of the fugitive Timmānāyudu boldly refused to surrender him. Consequently a fierce battle took place

16. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 255.
17. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 261.
18. Ep. Coll. No. 350 of 1932-33.
19. Ep. Coll. Nos. 402 and 403 of 1926; No. 35 of 1941-42.
20. Ep. Coll. No. 256 of 1937-38.
21. Ep. Coll. No. 341 of 1938-39.
22. R. 71. Cuḍḍapah, Ins. Ced. Dists. p. 339 No. 20.
23. V. R. 20A Cuḍḍapah, Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 335 No. 11.
24. Ep. Coll. No. 376 of 1940-41.

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at Kōmali in which Salakaṁ Timmayya and his followers were defeated. Rāmarāja and Timmānāyuḍu pursued them as far as Vijayanagara and destroyed them. The fear of the enemy being rooted out in this manner, Rāmarāja became the king from that time and he rewarded Timmanāyuḍu by giving him much money.[25] The defeat and death of Salakaṁ Timmayya at the hands of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and the Pemmasāni chief occurred in saka 1465 and in the same year the coronation of Sadāsiva took place.

After the accession of Sadāsiva, the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa was placed in the hands of the Naṇdyāla chiefs. They were related to Rāmarāya, the *de facto* sovereign who, in the words of Ferishta, "destroyed many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank."[26] The administration of the Sīma of Gaṇḍikōṭa passed from the hands of the Pemmasāni chiefs to the Naṇdyāla chiefs. The chiefs of the Naṇdyāla family held their sway over the region upto Śaka 1520. In that year the estates of the Naṇdyāla chief Krishṇamarāja were confiscated and given to Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka by the Vijayanagar Emperor Veṅkaṭapatirāya II.

The first Naṇdyāla chief to rule over the Gaṇḍikōṭa fort was according to an inscription from Mōpūr dated in saka 1466, in the reign of Sadāsiva, Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara, Timmayadēva Mahāraja, son of Narasiṅgayadēva Mahārāja and grandson of Aubhaladēva Mahārāja.[27] He acted as the governor of the fort from Śaka 1466 to 1470. This conclusion is arrived at from a number of inscriptions which mention him as the ruler of Gaṇḍikōṭa rājya and Sakali sīmās.[28] He was succeeded by his son China Timmayadēva Mahārāja. His governorship is attested by a number of inscriptions.[29] In his time Gaṇḍikōṭa rājya was formed. Because of the enormous extent of the Sīma and also because of the strategic importance of the fort a separate province with Gaṇḍikōṭa as its headquarters was formed by Sadāśiva.[30] China Timmayadēva appears to have ruled upto saka 1476. He acted as the Commandant of the fort for a brief period when he was succeeded by Naṇdyāla China Aubhalarāja, son of Peda Aubhalarāja.[31] He acted as the commandant of the fort for a brief period for in Śaka 1478 he

25. Kaifiyat of Tāḍipatri L. R. 11 pp. 501-2 and Kaifiyat of Naḍimidoḍḍipālem. L. R. 39, pp. 16-8.
26. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, p. 81.
27. Ep. Coll. No. 498 of 1906.
28. Ep. Coll. Nos. 689 of 1917; 486 of 1906; 372 of 1932-33; 378 of 1932-33; 333 of 1935-56; 243 of 1937-38; 244 of 1937-38; 408 of 1940-41; 425 of 1940-41; 28, 33, 34 of 1941-42; V. R. 165, Cuḍḍapah Ins. Ced. dts. p. 61 No. 4; V. R. 448 Cuḍḍapah Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 98 No. 4.
29. Ep. Coll. No. 295 of 1937-38, 373 and 374 of 1938-39.
30. Ep. Coll. No. 295 of 1937-38.
31. K. R. 487 Cuddapah Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 378 No. 34.

figures as the governor of Udayagiri rājya.[32] Evidently he was transferred to another fort. His place as governor of Gaṅḍikōṭa was filled by Naṅdyāla Nārayyadēva Mahārāja, son of Narasiṅgayyadēva Mahārāja.[33] He appears to have ruled this area upto Śaka 1477. In that year, according to an epigraph from Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Gaṅḍikōta durgam and its adjoining territory was assigned as Nāyaṅkara by Sadāsivarāya to Naṅdēla Timmarāja.[34] He acted as the governor of the fort from Śaka 1477 to Śaka 1490. His last inscription in this area is dated in Śaka 1490.[35] Evidently he must have been the governor of the fort in between these two dates. The Naṅdyāla chiefs continued to rule over the fort after the battle of Rākshasa Taṅgḍi. But it is not possible to show the succession list of governors of this fort in a chronological order due to dearth of historical material from inscriptions, which are taken in this dissertation, as the main source of information for the reconstruction of the Political history of Gaṅḍikōṭa.

By 1580 A.D. the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa was held by Naṅdyāla Narasiṁharāja, a distant cousin of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II. It was in or about this year Amīr-ul-mulk, a general of Sultan Quly Qutb Shah marched against the fort. Narasiṁharāja resisted for some time but ultimately he gave way and agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan. Thus Gaṅḍikōṭa ceased to be a feudal chief of the Vijayanagar king temporarily. Sultan Quly entrusted the defence of Gaṅḍikōṭa to Saṅjar Khān.[36] But it was taken back during the same reign by Velugōṭi Chennappa and Yāchamanāyaka. The Sultan of Golconda had to recognise the river Krishna as boundry between his territory and the kingdom of Vijayanagara.[37] But unfortunately for Veṅkaṭapatirāya II the troubles at Gaṅḍikōṭa did not end with the Muslim invasion: Naṅdēla Krishṇamarāja, son of Narasiṁharāja, who succeeded his father as the ruler of Gaṅḍikōṭa refused to pay tribute and raised the standard of rebellion, Veṅkaṭapatirāya II marched in person against the rebel accompanied by Maṭli Ellamarāja and Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka. At Jambulamaḍugu Krishṇamarāja sustained a severe defeat and was later on taken to Chaṅdragiri where he remained as a prisoner until his death.[38] For the valuable service rendered by Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka, the king gave him the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa and its adjoining territory. Gaṅḍikōṭa which has been a stronghold of the Naṅdyāla chiefs became the capital of Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka and his descendants. Maṭli Ellamarāja also who took an active part in the suppression of the rebellion of the

32. Ep. Coll. No. 426 of 1940-41.
33. Ep. Coll. No. 272 of 1937-38.
34. Ep. Coll. No. 36 of 1941-42.
35. Ep. Coll. No. 377 of 1940-41.
36. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, app., p. 455.
37. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, app., p. 457.
38. Kaifiyat of Allidona, *LR*, i., p. 142.

Naṅdyāla chief was given the districts of Chennūru, Duvvūru, Kamalāpuram, Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Badvēl and Pulugunāḍu and Siddhavaṭam sīma. Thus it can be seen that part of Gaṅḍikōṭa sīma was allotted to the chiefs of the Maṭli family by Vaṅkaṭapatirāya II. This rebellion and its suppression occurred in 1598 A.D.

Maṭli Kumāra Anaṅtarāja was engaged in a war with Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu, the governor of the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa, due to encroachment of territory. However, a peace was concluded by the terms of which Chilamkuru is Duvvūru taluk was fixed as a boundary between the estates of the two chiefs. The country to the west of Chilamkuru was given to Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu and that to the east of it was assigned to Maṭli Kumāra Anaṅtarāja.[39] This must have occurred some time subsequent to Śaka 1520, in the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II. Anaṅtarāja Dēvachōḍa Mahārāja, the adopted son of Kumāra Anaṅta lost his hold upon Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Badvēl, Duvvūru, Chennūru and Kamalāpuram due to Muslim encroachment. Ultimately, the Chōḍa chief fled away to the Kanarese country and his territory was entrusted by Mīrjumlā to Triambka Sankarajipant.[40]

After capturing the estates of the Maṭli chiefs, Mīrjumlā turned his attention to Gaṅḍikōṭa. The siege of Gaṅḍikōṭa is one of the epic episodes of South Indian History. Tavernier, the French Jeweller-traveller gives an account of the capture of the forts of Gaṅḍikōṭa by Mīrjumlā.[41] The chief of Gaṅḍikōṭa Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolators. Mīrjumlā did not certainly take possession of the fort by honourable means. They would not bear witness to the fact that the Golconda general took the place by treachery and breach of faith.[42] The Gaṅḍikōṭa Kaifiyat has a graphic story about the siege of the fort[43] when the guns were fired, we are told, the explosion was so terrific that pregnant women had abortions and men who were in the vicinity died of the shock. Mīr Jumla laid seige for any length of time but was not able to take the fort. Ultimately he had resort to treachery. He sent a message to Timmānāyuḍu, the governor of the fort, that if he surrendered Gaṅḍikōṭa he would give him Gutti fort in exchange. Depending upon Mīrjamla's word of honour, Timmānāyuḍu surrendered the place. But once Mīr Jumlā got possession of the fort, he sent a Qual to Timmānāyuḍu conferring upon him a place named Hanumma Gutti, in a Firman to him. After getting possession of the fort he indulged in

39. Kaifiyat of Siddhavaṭam L. R., 9, p. 281.
40. Kaifiyat of Cittivēli L. R., 22, pp. 223-26.
41. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol. I, pp. 284-5.
42. Thevenot, *Jean Thevenot's account* (ed. H. G. Rawilson).
43. Quoted in Pemmasani Timmanayudu, *Siege of Gaṅḍikōṭa* : by Gudavalli Ramabrahman, *Siege of Gaṇḍikota* (Telugu), pp. 22-24.

vandalism, dictated by fanaticism and cupidity. Not only the fort was completely looted but the images of many Gods in the Pagoda on the hill also were melted. Kafikhan who consulted Shah-Jehan Nama, writes[44]: 'Mirjumla having gone to Gajikota brought under the suzereignty by means of the blow of his sword and strategy the Rajas who were unsubdued so far and amassed enormous wealth and had an army of "Foreigner" under his control and then he began to think himself independent.' Mîr Jumlā is said to have succeeded in ousting the Pemmasāni chiefs of Gaṅḍikōṭa with the consent of the Sultan of Bijapur.[45] The Kavile of Tōḷḷamaḍugu states: 'while Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu was ruling the Kutupu Saha of Golconda laid siege to the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa in the year Vikirti and captured it.'[46] The Kaifiyat of Sugumaṅchipalli also corroborates this information. It states: 'While Pemmasāni China Timmānāyuḍu was ruling at Gaṅḍikōṭa the Nawab came from Golconda in Śaka 1571 Vikriti and captured it.'[47] Thus the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa fell into the hands of Muslims. The presence of the Golconda "Mudrakarta" at Gaṅḍikōṭa in the year of 1650 A.D. (Saka 1572) is testified by an inscription of Anumpalli village, Gooty taluk, Anantapur district.[48]

The victory of the Sultan was complete and decisive for subsequently no attempt was made by Śrī Ranga III to recover the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa. Thus Gaṅḍikōṭa which had been an important fort of the Rāyās of Vijayanagara from Śaka 1480 to Śaka 1571 fell into the hands of the Muslims and became one of their strongholds.

44. *Muntakhali-ul-lubab*, vol. iii, p. 293.
45. *Muhammadnamah*, S.T.C., 2, p. 182.
46. *Mack. Mss.* 44 15-3-49, p. 195.
47. *LR*, 85, pp. 171-2.
48. Ep. Coll. No. 375 of 1920.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

KUMARI JHANSI LAKSHMI

SEVERAL attempts have been made previously towards the determination of the order of succession and duration of reigns of the kings of this first Dynasty of Vijayanagara, the latest of these being included in the introduction to 'Further Sources'.[1]

Harihara I—figures uniformly in the Kālajñānās, in the accounts of Nuniz in Sewell's Forgotten Empire, Historical Inscriptions and Further Sources as the founder and first ruler.

The earliest dated inscription of this monarch belongs to 18th April, 1336[2] and so this may be taken as the starting point of his reign. His latest known date is not mentioned by the previous writers, but the reign is supposed to have ended in 1355 A.D. Though in the Forgotten Empire it is stated as having ended in 1343 A.D.[3]

An inscription from Raydrug (Bellary District) dated 8-8-1277, Manmtha, Margasira, Pūrnimā gives the date 20th November, 1355.[4] This must be taken as the last date of Harihara I. His reign would then have lasted between 15th April, 1336 and 20th November, 1355.

Bukka I

The reign of Bukka I is stated to have lasted for 29 years in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna; Nuniz says that king Bucārāo ruled for 37 years. Sewell writes in one place that he ruled for 36 years between 1343-1379 A.D.[5] and in another assigns 20th May, 1354[6] for the commencement of his reign and States that the monarch died before 24th February, 1377 A.D.[7]

1. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara.*
2. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, Ch. VI, pp. 59-68.
3. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
4. *MER*, No. 111/1913.
5. *Forgotten Empire* App—C.
6. *Historical inscription*, p. 193.
7. *HI*, page 200.

Though, as stated above, epigraphical evidence indicates that Harihara I died after 20th November, 1355 A.D.[8] the earliest known date of Bukka I is between January and February, 1356 A.D.[9] And there are many more dated inscriptions in the same year. It may therefore be presumed definitely, now, that the accession of Bukka I took place some time between 20th November, 1355, and January-February, 1356. Regarding the last date of the reign Sewell gave it as 1379 A.D.[10]

The last dated inscription of Bukka I belongs to 25th January, 1871, 1877. This cannot be taken as the closing year, because an inscription of Harihara II dated 24th February, 1377 A.D.[11] states clearly that a gift was made on that day in order 'that the soul of Bukka I might unite with Śiva'. This shows that Bukka I died some time between 25th January, and 24th February, 1377 A.D. Hence his reign extended between January, February, 1356 and January, February, 1377 A.D.[12]

Harihara II

He is assigned a reign of 22 years in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna. Sewell assigns to this monarch a reign of 20 years between 1377-99 A.D.[13] in one place, but mentions[14] 12th June, 1377 A.D. as the earliest date of Harihara II in another place.

The Hebbasuru[15] inscription and[16] C. P. Grant dated 24th February, 1377 state definitely that Bukka I died on that date. It may therefore be concluded that the reign of Bukka I lasted between 4th February, 1356 to 24th February, 1377 A.D.

Since the earliest known definite date of Harihara II is 21st June, 1377,[17] it may be presumed that his coronation took place some time between February, and June, 1377 A.D.

Sewell mentions that Harihara II died on 16th August, 1404 A.D.[18] Another authority gives this date as 15th September, 1404.[19] But an inscription from Mysore State dated 15th November, 1404 mentions this

8. *MER*, 111/1918.
9. *Mysore Rep.*, 1923, p. 117.
10. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
11. *EC*, vol. XXII, Tm. 92.
12. *EC*, vol. IV, Yd. 46.
13. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
14. *HI*, p. 201.
15. *EC*, vol. IV, Yd. 46.
16. My A. R., 1914-15 C. p. 57.
17. *ND*, d. 11 ka. 10.
18. *HI*, p. 207.
19. *Further Sources*, p. 68.

king. It is further stated by Sewell that Virūpāksha[20], son of Harihara II, ruled with full royal titles on 27th October, 1404[21], and 29th November, 1404.[22] This situation is complicated by an inscription of Harihara dated 15th November, 1404.[23]

The earliest known date for Bukka II given by Sewell is 5th October, 1404.[24] It follows from these dates that Harihara II, Virūpāksha I and Bukka II were all ruling simultaneously with independent titles between October and November, 1404.[25]

Bukka II

Bukka II figures as Vijaya Bukka in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna and as Ajārāo in Nuniz's account with a rule of 48 years. Sewell assigns him a rule of 7 years between 1389-1406 in the beginning. But later on says that Bukka II ruled uninterruptedly between 27th July, 1404 to August, November, 1406.[26]

An analysis of the inscriptions of the reign shows that this king was ruling on 18th August, 1407[27], 1408[28], 20th January, 1410 A.D.[29] It must therefore be taken that the reign of this monarch lasted from 27th July, 1404 to 20th January, 1410.

Dēvarāya I

Dēvarāya I figures as Dēorāo and is given a reign of 25 years in the account of Nuniz and a reign of 7 years between 1406 and 1413 A.D.[30] by Sewell. The same author writes that this king was crowned on 5th November, 1406 A.D.[31] and died before 3rd August, 1422 A.D.[32] The same dates are given by Nilakanata Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya.[33] The date of accession is derived from an inscription from Mysore State.[34] With regard to the last date, we find an inscription dated 25th February, 1423[35], which mentions Dēvārāya I as the ruling sovereign. Hence, it must be taken that this king ruled between 1406, 1423 A.D.

20. *HI*, p. 208.
21. *EC*, vol. VIII, RI 196.
22. *EC*, vol. VIII, TI 196.
23. *EC*, vol. VIII, TI 129.
24. *HI*, p. 208.
25. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
26. *HI*, p. 208.
27. *MER*, 293/1936-37.
28. *MER*, 155/1915.
29. My A. R., 1927, No. 52.
30. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
31. *HI*, p. 208.
32. *HI*, p. 231.
33. *Further Sources*, p. 64.
34. *EC*, vol. V, part II, Hs. 34.
35. *MER*, 125/1917.

Successors of Dēvarāya I

Vijaya I

Vijaya, son of Dēvarāya I, is mentioned as Visārāo by Nuniz with a reign of 6 years. Sewell takes this duration of reign as correct and ascribes it between 1418 and 1419 A.D.[36] But in Historical Inscriptions he is said to have ruled only for a short period from 17th August, 1422 to 10th February, 1428 A.D.[37]

It is stated in the *Further Sources* that this king ascended the throne in July and August, 1422 and ceased to rule in 1425 and 1428 A.D.[38] Inscriptions of the time mention a Vijaya Bukkarāya or Bukkarāya with dates 14th October, 1422[39], and 9th January, 1427.[40] They also mention a Vijayabhūpatirāya with dates 27th January, 1428[41], 19th July, 1428[42], and 14th October, 1428.[43]

Another Prince called *Rāmachandra* Mahārāya is said to have been ruling at Vijayanagara in Ś.S. 1345[44], Subhakrit, Chaitra, ba, 8, Tuesday The Śaka and Cyclic years do not tally. The Śaka year alone gives the date 4th April, 1428, but the day happens to be Sunday instead of being Tuesday. The cyclic year gives the date as 16th March, 1422, the day being Monday.

Since, as stated above, Dēvarāya I seems to have ruled till 25th February, 1428 A.D. it is quite possible that his son Rāmachandra succeeded him on 4th April, 1428 A.D.[45] An inscription from Bārakūru[46] states that Dēvarāya II began to rule even in Ś.S. 1348 and H. Krishnasastri holds, on this basis, that Dēvarāya II began to rule from March, April, 1420 A.D.[47] It follows from what has been stated above that Dēvarāya I and his Grandson Dēvarāya II were conjointly ruling between 1420 to 1428 A.D. It also follows that Vijaya *alias* Vijaya Bukkarāya, Rāmchandrarāya, and Dēvarāya II ruled conjointly, between 1420 and 1428 A.D.

36. *Forgotten Empire.*, App. C.
37. *HI*, p. 214.
38. *Further Sources* pp. 65-68.
39. *EC*, vol. X, p. 78.
40. *EC*, vol. II, Sva. 56.
41. *MER*, 58/1936-37.
42. *MER*, 110/1930-31.
43. *EC*, vol. VII-98.
44. *MER*, 312/1931-32.
45. *MER*, 317/1931-32.
46. *MER*, 160/1900.
47. *ASR*, 1906.

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The reign of Devaraya II extended beyond 1423 for nearly 26 years. There is an inscription of Vijaya Bukkarāya dated 9th January, 1427.[48] Hence, this king and Dēvarāya II must have been conjoint rulers between 1423 and 1427 A.D.

Dēvarāya II

The accession of Dēvarāya II seems to have taken place as stated above in March-April, 1420 A.D.[49] Sewell[50] ascribes a reign of 25 years between 1409 and 1445 A.D. in his Forgotten Empire. But in some other place gives the date of 10th February, 1423 A.D.[51] as the commencement of his reign, and 24th May, 1446 A.D.[52] as the closing date of his reign. It is also said that the reign of this monarch comes to an end with his death on 10th May, 1446 A.D.[53]

But inscriptions of this king are available bearing the dates—

1. 22nd December, 1446[54]
2. 2nd January, 1447[55]
3. 5th April, 1447[56]
4. 9th April, 1447[57]
5. 27th February, 1449,[58]
6. 25th June, 1447[59] and
7. 3rd February, 1449.[60]

In view of these inscriptions it is necessary to consider that Dēvarāya II's reign came to an end in 1449 A.D. and not earlier.

Vijaya II

The Vidyāranya Kālajñāna mentions a king, with initials as 'Vi' after Dēvarāya II. The Vīrappaya Kālajñāna mentions a Vīrarāya with a reign of 4 years before Mallikārjuna. Sewell mentions an anonymous ruler after Dēvarāya II and gives him a reign of 5 years between 1444 and 1499 A.D.

48. *EC*, vol. II, Sva. 52.
49. *MER*, 160/1901.
50. *Forgotten Empire.*, App. C.
51. *HI*, p. 214.
52. *HI*, p. 200.
53. *Further Sources*, p. 66.
54. *MER*, 168/1941-42.
55. *MER*, 280/1943-44.
56. *MER*, 66/1940-41.
57. *MER*, 66/1940-41.
58. *EC*, vol. XII, Tm. 52.
59. *MER*, 23/1938-39.
60. *EC*, vol. VIII, Sl, 18.
61. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
62. *MER*, 476/1921.
63. *MER*, 23/1905.
64. *MER*, 161/1906.

Some inscriptions refer to the administrative reforms of a king named Vijayarāya. Other inscriptions mention a Vijayarāya between 1431[65] and 1441 A.D.[66] and the same individual as Vijayarāya Mahārāya from 1446 to 1457 A.D. indicating that he was an independent sovereign between 1446[67] and 1457 A.D.[68]

Therefore two things are certain, that Dēvarāya II and this Vijaya II ruled conjointly between 1446 and 1449 and that Vijaya II ruled independently from October, 1449.

Mallikārjuna

The earliest date of Mallikārjuna after Vijaya II is 10th January 1458.[69] It is generally believed that this Monarch's reign ended on 14th July, 1465. But his inscriptions are available, continuously bearing the dates (1) 11th August, 1465[70], (2) 23rd June, 1466[71], (3) 5th July, 1466[72], (4) 29th October, 1467[73], and (5) 1471[74], (6) 1472, (7) 1478[75], (8) 1476[76], and (9) 12th August, 1485.[77] It seems therefore that this king's reign lasted till 12th August, 1485.

Rājasēkhara

This king is mentioned as 'Ra' in the Vidyāranya Kālajñāna. Sewell takes this king to have ruled for a year between 1368-69 A.D.[78] *Further sources* is silent about this king. Inscriptions of Rājasēkhara are available ranging in dates between 1468[79] and 1486 A.D.[80] Since, the last inscription of Mallikārjuna is 12th August, 1485,[81] it may be concluded that Rājasēkhara came to the throne soon after this.

Virūpāksha II

The Vidyāranya Kālajñāna mentions Virūpāksha as the last ruler of the Sangama Dynasty. Sewell mentions a Virūpāksha after Rājasēkhara who ruled between 1483-84.[82] But the same author says in his

65. *EC*, vol. X, Md. 2.
66. *MER*, 420/1915.
67. *EC*, vol. III, Sr. 10.
68. *MER*, 348/1939-40.
69. *MER*, 46/1940-41.
70. *MER*, 251/1926-876/1927-28.
71. *EC*, vol. III, p. xxiv, MI, 64.
72. *MER*, 84/1919.
73. *EC*, vol. III, Ng. 22.
74. *EC*, vol. XV, Sr. 86.
75. *EC*, vol. IX, Yd. 88.
76. *MER*, 195/1910.
77. *MER*, 422/1925.
78. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
79. *MER*, 4/1996.
80. *MER*, 199/1941-42.
81. *MER*, 422/1925.
82. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.

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Historical Inscriptions that Virūpāksha II ruled from 1465[83] to 1485[84], and takes him to have been murdered by his son between 29th July, 1485 and 1st November, 1486 A.D.[85]

Inscriptions belonging to this king are available bearing the dates (1) 28th October, 1486[86], (2) 1493[87], and (3) 30th October, 1494 A.D.[88] It may therefore be taken that this king's rule lasted from 28th October, 1486[89] and 30th October, 1494 A.D.[90]

Praudhadēvarāya

Nuniz mentions a Padērāo, identified with Praudhadēvarāya as having ruled after Virūpāksha II. If this Praudhadēvarāya ruled at all, he must be identical with the king of that name mentioned in an inscription dated 3rd February, 1488.[91]

Since the inscriptions of Virūpāksha II extended beyond this date, if Praudhadēvarāya is supposed to have ruled, the story of Nuniz cannot be taken as true.

In view of what has been stated above, the revised chronology of the Sangama dynasty is as follows :—

1. Harihara I	18th April, 1336	
	20th November, 1355	
2. Bukka I	January-February, 1356	
	25th January, 1377	
	24th February, 1377	
3. Harihara II	21st June, 1377	
	16th August, 1404	
	15th September, 1404	
	27th September, 1404	
	15th November, 1404	
	29th November, 1404	
4. Virūpāksha	——	
5. Bukka II	27th July, 1404	
	20th January, 1410	

88. *HI*, p. 225.
84. *HI*, p. 230.
85. *HI*, p. 230.
86. *MER*, 250/1931-32.
87. *MER*, 349/1914.
88. *MER*, 278/1931-32.
89. *MER*, 250/1931-32.
90. *MER*, 278/1931-32.
91. *ND*, d. II, On. 80.

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6.	Dēvarāya I	... ...	5th November, 1406 25th February, 1428
7.	Rāmachandra	... ...	4th April, 1423
8.	Vijaya I ...	... ...	1423 to 1428
9.	Dēvarāya II	... ...	March, April, 1420 3rd February, 1449
10.	Vijaya II ...	... ...	1449 to 1457
11.	Mallikārjuna	... ...	1st January, 1458 12th August, 1485
12.	Rājasēkhara	... .	1486
13.	Virūpāksha II	... ...	28th October, 1486 30th October, 1494
14.	Praudhadēvarāya	...	4th February, 1483

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A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF H.A. 807 and V.S. 1462, PAUSH, SHUDDHA 11TH

PROF. K. H. KAMDAR

THE inscription under review was found in the Jumma Masjid near the Mandavi Gate at Baroda. Like several inscriptions of the period it is bilingual. The record is inscribed on the same marble slab. It opens with the usual Quranic invocations to the Supreme Being in Arabic and then proceeds to record in simple Persian the event of the construction of the Imarat—a well by one Pir Nath in the Hijri year 807.

The Sanskrit text gives better information. According to it the well or rather the step-well was got done by one Pir Nath who was a mighty soldier and archer, feared and respected by the enemy, who was an ornament to the family and who was the scion of the family of the Takshata race. The date of construction was 11th of the bright half of Pausha, Vikrama year 1462. The metres are Anushtup and Shardul. The Sanskrit is faultless. The date and year are given in accordance with traditional classical Sanskrit equivalents.

I knew the existence of the inscription. But I was led to the site by a young and enthusiastic student friend, Mr. Mir Saheb Mehbub Ali Khan Intezam Ali Khan of the illustrious Mir family of Baroda who, till recently, held Inam and Jagir lands in Gujarat and Kathiawar. I am indebted to another illustrious friend, Nawab Fakhr-ud-din of Baroda who accompanied me to the mosque and first read the Persian and Arabic texts. The full translations were supplied by the late Mr. Abdul Kadir Pirjada, once a teacher of Persian and Arabic in the local Muslim High School and of Persian in the Sayaji High School for Girls, Baroda. Shri R. N. Mehta of the archæological department of the M. S. University of Baroda was helpful in taking the rubbings. I am particularly and deeply grateful to my esteemed friend, Shri Lalchandra B. Gandhi, once Jain Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda and an expert in the art of deciphering such inscriptions. He helped me in reading the Sanskrit text and in elucidating the otherwise obscure references to names for numerals.

The mosque was built about fifty years back when the late Mr. Abbas Tyabji took a leading part. There is a Hauj just down to the left of the inscription. According to tradition a step-well did exist on the site of the Mandavi. Mr. Rehman of the Urdu department of the M. S. University of Baroda who is familiar with the site assures me of the existence of steps leading to a well just adjacent to the mosque. This site has been filled up.

The Texts

(1) Persian and Arabic

(*Vide* Exhibit 1).

Translation :

I commence in the name of Allah, the Great, the most Mercifui the kindliest. By his grace and by the blessings of the Prophet. Muhammad Ras-ul-ullah (May God have peace on Him) the honoured Pir Nath who should deserve God's favour, get prepared and completed this Imarat. It was done in Hijri 807.

(2) Sanskrit

(*Vide* Exhibit 2).

Trabslations :

//Shri.// God, the creator of the whole universe, is victorious. May He, the cause of incessant joy, the Invisible, who is beyond comprehension, grant prosperity to you.

Tell us : Where are the foes who do not experience feeling of great frightfulness in battle, once they have seen him (drunk with their eyes) holding the bow and arrow, Pir Nath, the ornament of the Mirs ?

On the eleventh day of the bright half of Pausha in the V.S. year 1462 he, Pir Nath, the delight of Takshatas, the treasure-house of virtues, the happy person, got prepared this step-well which resembles the sea, on account of the wealth of his merit.

Pir Nath, Mir Shri Takshata's scion, got done this step-well in the year V.S. 1462 at the best place of Vatapura (Baroda) by the grace of God. May this step-well prove pleasant to all as long as (the sun and the moon) endure. Blessings be to all.

Some Elucidations :

Yugala means—Couple—2.
Anga, Vedanga means—Six—6.

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Vasava Indra—14.
Reversing the figures—26 (14), the year is 1462 V.S.
Kshana—means—time.
Valaksha—means—Bright.

A Vrushakapi—means—Vishnu. According to Hemachandra's Abhidhana Chintamani, Devakanda verse 215. Hemachandra gives 75 names for Vishnu in this verse.

In my humble view the Takshata family is the Tank Rajput family who became Muslims and founded, in the regime of the later Tughluks, in the beginning of the 15th century, the independent Sultanat of Gujarat. The Takkas or Tank Rajputs are referred to in the DWYASHRAYA by Hemachandra as the brave and dauntless soldiers moving majestically and defiantly in the city of Patan, *e.g.* पुंशूराअत्र पुंस्टक्वाः परपुंसूथुत्कृता सहाः। अपुंक्षूद्राः प्रकुर्वन्ति सेवां चौलुक्यभूमृताम् ॥ (1st Sarge),

The words अमन्हानन्द (हेतुः) जनक ..... verse 54 are used by the writer of the *Kalpa Sutra* in describing the significance of the dream of Mahavira's mother, Trishala, wherein she saw two garlands of flowers.

Some Comments :

These bilingual incriptions of Gujarat bear some interesting features. The writer of the Sanskrit text has adjusted himself to the change of rule. The style has changed. Ornate descriptions are avoided. Next, Sanskrit renderings of Quranic quotations are freely given, thanks to the elasticity of the divine language and the happy existence of equivalent philosophical concepts. Still the continuity is carefully maintained. Writers are not satisfied with merely colourless narratives. Rather they still cling to the classical method. They use Sanskrit metres. They employ the traditional designations in giving dates and years. Lastly they delight in coining happy Sanskrit equivalents for Persian and Arabic words.

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

توفیق و "عنایت ربّانی" و بکرّم عمم یزدانی

و تبناسرء رحمتّ سا حبیب نبی محمد رسولا اللہّ صلیّ

علیہ و سلیم امیر معّظم و مکرّم تنوتا کرامی

رحمت عمارت مرتب تمام گردانید ذالك فی

العدة من سنہ سع و ثمانیا

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॥ श्रीः ॥ सृष्टिकर्ता जयति ॥

अमन्दानन्दहेतुर्यो व्यक्तो व्याकृतरः परः।
दद्याद्विश्वस्य विश्वस्थ कर्ता दिवः स वः श्रियम् ॥
धनुधरं मीर शिरोऽवसं श्री मीरनाथंनयनैर्निपीय
प्रत्यथिनः के भण नाम भीरुभावं प्रभूतं युधि नाप्नुवन्ति।
वर्षेऽस्मिन् युगलांग वासवमितै तें श्री विक्रमार्कक्षणात्
पौषे मासि तिथौ बृषाकपितिथौ पक्षे वलक्षे सति।
क्षीरांभोधिसमायकारयादियां पुण्य श्रियै वापिकाम्
स श्री तकहनन्दनो गुणनिधिः श्री मीरनाथः कृती ॥

संवत् १४६२ वर्षे मीरश्रीतक्षहसुतः श्रीं मीरनाथ इमां वापीं अकारपजू ॥
श्रीमद्दहपुरे श्रेष्ठे सृष्टिकर्तुः प्रभावतः। याव....तावद्वापीयं नंदनाच्चिरं ॥ शुभंभवतु ॥

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BAHADUR SHAH'S CONQUEST OF CHITTOR— ITS CHRONOLOGY

PROF. ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI

The conquest of Chittor was the prime ambition of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat since his childhood.[1] He was willing to pay any price, including his self-destruction, for it.[2] Still after a three-month siege of the fort of Chittor[3] in 1532-33 A.D. he had to treat with the dowager queen Hadi Karmeti.[4] He had to agree *to raise the siege*[5] for a paltry indemnity of 10 million tankas[6] (*i.e.*, 5 lakh rupees),[7] an insignificant present of 100 horses and 10 elephants[8] and the crown and belt of Gujarat.[9] He withdrew 2 miles from the fort on March 28, 1533 A.D.[10] wherefrom he sent Burhanul Mulk Muhammad Bayani and Mujahid Khan against the fort of Ranthambhor and Malik Shamsherul Mulk Nulia Khan against Ajmer to wrest them from the Rana.[11] During the siege of Ranthambhor the Sultan promised the governorship of the said fort to Rumi Khan. However, after its conquest on the advice of Amin Nas, Bahadur exonerated himself from fulfilling this pledge to Rumi Khan by promising the governorship of the fort of Chittor in future.[12] The internal dissensions in Mewar,[13] the sudden worsening of Bahadur-Humayun relations[14] and the flight of Udai Singh, a Rana's

1. *Mirat-i Sikandari* (Faridi Tr.), p. 189.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
3. *Tarikh-i Farishta* (Briggs' Tr.), vol. IV, p. 124.
4. *Mirat.*, p. 179.
5. *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Bird Tr.), p. 244.
6. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 179.
7. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, p. 245.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 245; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 179. Ferishta (vol. IV, p. 124) and *Tabkat-i Akbari* (De Tr.: III. 369) do not mention the exact number of horses, elephants and the cash.
9. *Tab.*, vol. III. pp. 124, 369. They were acquired by Sultan Mahmud Khilji (I) of Malwa in the Battle of Sarkhej and taken to Chittor from Sultan Mahmud Khilji (II) by Sanga after the Battle of Mandsaur in 1519 A.D.
10. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 179-80.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
12. Haji Al-Dabir, *The Arabic History of Gujarat* (Ross ed.), vol. I, p. 229.
13. *Raval Rana ri Vat* (MS No. 876, Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur), leaf 83 (*a*); Kavi Rao; *Kavitta Vikramadit aur Udai Singh ra* (MS Rajasthan Viswavidyapeeth, Udaipur), verse 5.
14. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 181-85; *Tab.* vol. II, p. 47, vol. III, pp. 369-71; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 73, vol. IV, p. 124; Al Badaoni: *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* (Ranking Tr.), vol. I, pp. 452-3.

hostage with the Sultan in Gujarat, to Mewar led to Bahadur Shah's second attack on Chittor.[15]

The Sultan marched upon Chittor from Champaner[16] *via* Mandu.[17] The Gujarat army consisted of 1,80,000 soldiers and 1,000 elephants.[18] After his defeat in the Battle of Jiran,[19] Rana Vikramajit closed himself in the fort of Chittor.[20] Bahadur Shah besieged him.[21] The siege lasted for 8 months.[22] According to Abul Fazl, Bahadur Shah conquered Chittor on March 8, 1535 A.D.[23] On the advice of his wazirs, Bahadur did not entrust the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan.[24] An encounter between the advance party of Gujarat army and the Mughals possibly, took place soon after this event.[25] After a stay of 15 days Bahadur Shah moved to meet Humayun.[26]

Instead of attacking the Mughals as advised by Sadr Khan,[27] Bahadur Shah, on the advice of Rumi Khan, fortified his camp[28] in the manner of Turks.[29] Both the armies lay encamped opposite each other[30] somewhere in the district[31] of Mandsaur[32] for two months.[33] Famine forced Bahadur Shah to fly from his camp[34] on April 25, 1535[35]

15. *Muhnot Nensi ri Khyat* (Ramnarayan Duggad Tr.), vol. I, p. 54.
16. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 185.
17. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, p. 247. See also Kavi Rao, verse 6.
18. *Muhnot Nensi*, I. 55.
19. Kavi Rao, verses 9-17; *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaves 84 (a)-85 (*b*). See also *Vanshavali* 872 (SBU), p. 133. Jiran stands between Nimuch and Mandsaur. So *Vanshavali* 872 calls it Battle of Nimuch. No Muslim historian except Al Badaoni (I. 458-) has referred to this battle but not by name. (For details of this battle see Tiwari, " The Battle of Jiran," *Proceedings of XX History Congress*, Vallabh Vidyanagar).
20. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 85 (*a*); Kavi Rao, verse 18.
21. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 85 (*a*). See also *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 186; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 47, vol. III, p. 871; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 75, vol. IV, p. 126.
22. *Raval Rana ri Vat* leaf 87 (*a*).
23. *Akbar Nama* (Beveridge Tr.), vol. I, p. 301.
24. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 187.
25. Ferishta, vol. IV, p. 126. See also *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 872; Haji Al-Dabir, vol. I, p. 240.
26. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 86 (b).
27. *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 872; Ferishta, vol. IV, pp. 126-27.
28. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188; *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127.
29. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 188; Tab., vol. III, p. 873.
30. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. III, p. 127; *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 873.
31. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.
32. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454; *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 873. *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 50 says that they met somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mandu.
33. *Tab.*, vol. II, 50, vol. III, p. 873; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.
34. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 874; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127.
35. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303; Haji Al-Dabir, vol. I, pp. 240, 249.

A.D. to Mandu[36] *via* Mandsaur[37] and Rampura.[38] Humayun pursued Bahadur Shah upto Mandu and besieged him there.[39] Learning about this plight of the Gujarat army[40] the Sisodias numbering about 5-7,000[41] attacked and wrested Chittor[42] (from the Gujarati garrison under Barhanul Mulk[43]) with the Mughal aid.[44] Only one Hur Patra[45] has preserved for us the date of the reconquest of Chittor by Vikramjit. It was May 4, 1535 A.D. (Jaishtha Shukla 2, 1591,[46] *i.e.*, Chaitra beginning 1592 *vs.*). Then Bahadur Shah lay besieged in Mandu by Humayun.

According to Abul Fazl the fort of Chittor was conquered by Bahadur Shah on March 8, 1535 A.D. So the Gujarat army would have advanced to oppose Humayun about the third week of March (*i.e.*, 14 days after the fall of Chittor). And Bahadur Shah's flight from his camp after two months will have to be fixed in the third week of May, *i.e.*, one month later than the date (April 25, 1535 A.D.) given by Abul Fazl and Haji Al-Dabir for it. Even if it were accepted that the period of two months would be computed from the date of the first clash between the Mughals and the Gujarati forces just after the fall of Chittor, the date of the flight of Bahadur Shah will have to be fixed in the middle of the second week of May. This also is contradicted by the above-cited authorities.

Vanshavali 828[47] and Vanshavali 878[48] of Mewar inform us that Bahadur Shah captured Chittor on February 27, 1535 A.D. One copperplate[49] referring to Karmeti's Jauhar gives its date which also supports these Vanshavalis. The fact of the genuineness of the copper-

36. *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 77, vol. IV, p. 128; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 374; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 189.

37. *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.

38. Pathu Shah ki Bavadi Inscription dated May 5, 1609 A.D. (Vaishakha Shukla 12, 1666, *V.S.*), verse 9.

39. Ferishta, vol. II, p. 77, vol. IV, p. 128; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 191; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 52, vol. III, p. 374; Haji Al Dabir, vol. I, p. 241. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 304 and *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 128 say that some Mughal officers pursued Bahadur upto Mandu.

40. *Cf. Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 374; *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 77. vol. IV, p. 128; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 189.

41. *Muhnot Nensi* (MS 701, SBU), leaf 199. The number of the Sisodia soldiers is not given in its translation by Duggad.

42. *Muhnot Nensi* (Tr.), vol. I, p. 54.

43. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 86 (b). Haji Al-Dabir (vol. I, p. 289) says that the fort was entrusted to Amin Nas while *Mirat-i Sikandari* (p. 197) gives the name of the Gujarati commander as Shamsherul Mulk.

44. *Nensi*, vol. I, p. 54. See also *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaves 88 (*a*)-(*b*).

45. Hur Patras are unconnected collection of dates of historical events without any chronological sequence.

46. A Hur Patra in the possession of Shri Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur.

47. *Vanshavali* 828 (SBU), leaf 64 (a)

48. *Vanshavali* 878 (SBU), leaf 68 (a).

49. Chief Commissioner's Office (Udaipur) Register entry No. 5127.

plate might be disputed about the grant referred to in it. However, it records the tradition current at the time of its manufacture about the date of the fall of Chittor. And this fact of tradition cannot be disputed.

If we add 15 days to February 27, 1535 A.D. we get March 14, 1535 A.D. as the date of the beginning of two-month period when both the armies lay encamped opposite each other near Mandsaur. By adding 2 months to March 14, 1535 A.D. we get May 14, 1535 A.D. as the date of the flight of Bahadur Shah from his camp, which is unacceptable to both Abul Fazl and Haji Al-Dabir. However, if we add the period of 2 months to February 27, 1535 A.D. we get April 27, 1535 A.D., a very near date to April 25, 1535 A.D. when Bahadur fled to Mandu. So it follows that the period of 2 months should be counted from the date of the first encounter of the Gujarati forces with the Mughal—which, as referred to above, in all probability took place just after the fall of Chittor. If so, Bahadur Shah joined his army at some later date near Mandsaur.

Now the task of the calculation of other dates is very easy. The siege lasted for about 8 months, so (1535.2.27-0.8.0 =) about the end of November 1534 A.D. Bahadur would have begun besieging Chittor, *i.e.*, just after the end of monsoons. The advance party of the Gujarat army was defeated just after the fall of Chittor (Feb. 27, 1535 A.D.), *i.e.*, in the beginning of the first week of March 1535 A.D. Bahadur Shah joined his forces near Mandsaur about March 14. He fled from here on April 25, 1535 A.D. The Sisodias reconquered Chittor on May 4, 1535 A.D. Though almost 2 months were spent by both the *armies* in lying encamped near Mandsaur Bahadur Shah lay *personally* pitched before Humayun only for 1 month and 11 days.

Abstract of Dates:

(1) The time of the beginning of the siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah: The last week of November 1534 A.D.

(2) The date of the fall of Chittor: Feb. 27, 1535 A.D.

(3) The date of the first encounter of Mughal-Gujarat forces: First week of March 1535 A.D.

(4) The date of Bahadur Shah's joining his forces near Mandsaur: About March 14, 1535 A.D.

(5) The date of the flight of Bahadur Shah from his camp to Mandu: April 25, 1535 A.D.

(6) The date of the reconquest of Chittor by the Sisodias; May 4, 1535 A.D.

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AN URDU MANUSCRIPT IN KHUDABAKSH LIBRARY, PATNA

SHRI BRAHMADEVA PRASAD AMBASHTHYA

FOUR Mss., one in Urdu and three in Hindi, made available to the Khudabakhsh Library at Patna by Mr. V. S. Srivastava on 29-6-50 appeared to me to be very important source materials of the 16th century Indian History, especially of its eastern provinces. The Urdu Ms. is known as "Bihar, Bengal and Orissa men Raja Todar Mal ki Karguzarian." The title, however, is a misnomer as it deals with many things not connected with Todar Mal. The introductory remarks of the Urdu Ms. show that it is part of a work compiled at the order of Raja Todar Mal by his Mir Munshi, namely, Safdar Ali, during the period of Raja's forced inactivity in the fort of Monghyr (in the 25th year[1] of Akbar's reign), where he (Todar Mal) had remained besieged by the thirty thousand rebels led by Masum Kabli[2] and Mirza Ashrafuddin[2] and where the Mughal chiefs like Humayun Kamali[3] and Diwan Tarkhan[3] were deserting the Mughal camp to join the camp of the rebels. Safdar Ali, after consulting the documents such as the royal farmans and the official records available at that time, succeeded in compiling the work after a strenuous effort of three months and presented it to the Raja on 24th Rabi I, 989H. (20th April, Friday, 1581 A.D.). The Urdu version of the portion which forms the subject of this paper was done, at the instance of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur, in 1874 by Ikram Ali of Salimpur Majhauli in Gorakhpur district. The importance of the work lies in the fact that besides giving all the salient facts recorded in the standard Persian Histories of the period, connected with the course of Mughal Afghan struggle in eastern India in the second half of the 16th Century which resulted in the final incorporation of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the Mughal empire, it gives many new facts not to be found anywhere else. The part played by Panwar,

1. 24th Muharram 988 H. i.e. 10 or 11 March, 1580 A.D.—4th Safar 989=9 or 10 March, 1581 A.D.

2. *Tabakat-i-Akbari* Translated by De. vol. II, p. 584 (Calcutta, 1927 edition) writes them as Asi Qubuli and Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and puts the number of besieging Afghan forces at Monghyr at thirty thousand.

3. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 586 names them as Humayun Quli Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana. Akbarnama (Tr. by H. Beveridge), vol. III, p. 454 (Calcutta, 1939 edition) adds the third name of Shah Diwana among the deserters who joined the camp of the rebels at Monghyr.

Kachchwahas and Ujjainiya Rajputs of Shahabad District in the state of Bihar under their respective leader, namely, Kishan Singh and Ramput Ujjain (-iya) in the battle at Hajipur in 1574 A.D., the details about the strength of their number in the battle and the name of place like Raghupur Diara which was touched by them while going from Patna to Hajipur, the name of Kasim Ali as being the leader of the force that was sent to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur, the specific mention, about the appointments of Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar, Todar Mal as its Diwan and Ram Das Kachchwaha as its Naib Diwan, the refusal of Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya to return to Jalesar and his march from Burdwan to Bhojpur—these are some of the many new informations that this Urdu Ms. contains and which are not to be found elsewhere. There are of course certain discrepancies, especially in matter of dates which have been considered in foot-notes. It is therefore, worthwhile to give below the faithful rendering of the Urdu Ms. into English.

1. "In spite of several months of siege, when Munim Khan failed to conquer the fort of Patna, emperor Akbar started in a boat (from his capital) on 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal[4] and reached Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[5] On the very day of his arrival in Patna, he, after inspecting the battle field and ordering for the strengthening of the siege (of the Patna fort), sent Khan Alam with 8,000 force[6] to Hajipur to defeat Fatahulla Khan[7] there."

4. 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal (982 H.) = 18 July, Sunday, 1574, A.D. does not tally with that given in *AN*. This date seems to be wrong, for it was not possible for emperor Akbar to leave Agra on 18th July, 1574 A.D. and then to reach Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir = 5 Aug., 1574 A.D. along with his whole imperial retinue after journeying for 19 days only as recorded in Urdu Ms. (Khuda Bax Library). According to *AN*, Tr. vol. III p. 122, Akbar started in boat from Agra for Patna on 29th Safar, 982 H. = 15th June, 1574 A.D. According to Indian Ephemeries V by L. D.S. Pillai (Madras, 1922 edition) 29 Safar, 982 H. falls on 20th June 1574. *TA*, (Persian Text, Calcutta, 1931 edition) vol. II, p. 284 says that emperor left Agra for Patna on Sunday, the last day of Safar, 982 H. = 20 June, 1574 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 434, wrongly puts the year 981 H. for سنین و ثمانین و تسعمایه which, when properly calculated gives 982 H. *Traikh-i-Badauni* (Tr. by Lowe), vol. II, p. 176 (Calcutta 1924 edition) says that emperor left Agra for Patna in the latter part of the month of Safar, 982 H. *AN*, therefore, correctly gives 29 Safar, 982 H = 20th June, 1574, A.D. as the day when emperor left Agra for Patna, and in this case it took one and half months for the emperor to come from Agra to Patna along with his retinue which seems to be just a reasonable length of time. Hence the Urdu Ms. has wrongly put 28th Rabi-ul-Awwal for 28 or 29 Safar 982 H. (19 or 20 July, 1574).

5. 16 Rabi-ul-Akhir (982 H.)=5Aug., 1574 A.D. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 135-136 says that emperor came near Patna on 15 Rabi-ul-Akhir (982 H=4th Aug, 1574); on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir (5th Aug., 1574) he surveyed the fort of Patna and on the 17th Rabi-ul-Akhir (6th Aug, 1574) Khan Alam was sent to Hajipur to conquer the fort there. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 448 says that emperor came to Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir and sent Khan Alam to Hajipur on 18th Rabi-ul-Akhir (7th Aug, 1574) with 8000 horsemen. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 182 says that emperor came to Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir 982 H. on the very day sent Khan Alam with 800 forces to capture the fort at Hajipur. Badauni here supports the Urdu Ms.

6. *Badauni*, Tr. vol. II, p. 182 and *TA.*, Tr. vol. II, p. 443 here support Urdu MS.

7. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 138 calls him Fath Khan only. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 188 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 445 name him as Fath Khan Barha.

2. "On 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir,[8] on the receipt of the news that Khan Alam had lost a good number of soldiers, the emperor sent Kasim Ali with a force of 2,500 Moghul soldiers, 500 Panwar Kachchwahas and 500 Ujjainiya Rajputs to aid him. Because of the strong currents of the Ganges and the Gandak, most of the boats carrying the reinforcements failed to reach Hajipur, excepting the three boats which could reach Diara Raghupur[9] that lay at the distance of 1½ to 2 koses from Hajipur and which carried 200 to 250 Mughal soldiers of Kasim Ali, 250 to 300 Ujjainiya Rajputs of Kunwar Rampat and 150 to 200 Kachchwaha Panwars of Kishan Singh. Kasim Ali, Kunwar Rampat and Kishan Singh left their boats at Raghupur Diara and proceeded with their men to Hajipur where they succeeded in defeating Pathans, killed their leader Fatahulla Khan and also huge number of Pathan soldiers."

3. "Khan Alam occupied Hajipur, sent the head of Fatahullah Khan and those of his Pathan followers to emperor on 19th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[10] The emperor sent those heads to Darya Khan Karrarani (as presents) and congratulated[11] Kasim Ali, Kunwar Rampat Ujjain and Kishan Singh on their success."

4. "Seeing the severed heads of the Pathans, Daud lost heart and fled from the fort of Patna in the night of 20 Rabi-ul-Akhir[12] towards Bengal. The Pathans began to fly away from the fort on 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir[13] and thousands of them were killed while flying. Patna came under possession of Akbar."

8. 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir = 17 Aug., 1574; *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 137-38 says that emperor sent some troops to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur on Arad 25 Amardad (18th Rabi-us-Sani, 982 H. = 7 Aug., 1574 A.D.). *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 444-45 says that emperor sent some troops on 18th Rabi-us-Sani to the aid of Khan Alam at Hajipur. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 182 and 183 says that emperor sent troops on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir (5th Aug, 1574 A.D.) to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur. The date 18 Rabi-ul-Akhir 982 H. as given by *AN*, and duly supported by *TA*, seems to be the correct date when emperor sent forces to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur. The Urdu Ms. has, therefore, wrongly written 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir for 18 Rabi-ul-Akhir, and this becomes all the more confirmed when the Urdu Ms. in its subsequent narration under clause 8 records that on 19th Rabi-ul-Akhir (8th Aug., 1574 A.D.) Khan Alam sent the heads of thousands of Pathans along with that of Fathulla Khan in boats to Patna, showing thereby that Hajipur had come under the Mughal possession by that date. The details about the persons and their numbers who were sent to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur as recorded under clause 2 of Urdu Ms. are new information which is not to be found anywhere else.

9. This Diara is still known by Raghupur and is at a distance of 2 kos from Hajipur. Half of the Diara is now under the water of the Ganges; and the Diara is now the Wakf property of Imam Bandi Begum of Gulzarbagh.

10. 8 Aug., 1574.

11. This is new information not to be found anywhere else.

12. 9 Aug., 1574.

13. 10 Aug., 1574, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 445 and 446 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 184 say that when Daud fled from Patna in the night of 21 Rabi-us-Sani, 10 Aug. 1574, many Pathans in their efforts to fly away perished. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 141 says that when Daud fled from Patna in the night of 18 Rabi-us-Sani=7 Aug., 1574 A.D. many Pathans perished while attempting to fly away.

5. "On 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir[14] emperor proceeded in boat to Daryapur,[15] from where he decided to go back to Agra, and therefore appointed[16] Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar, Todar Mal as its Diwan, Ram Das Kachchwaha as its Naib Diwan after duly rewarding them with Khilats and robes of honour. He also entrusted to them the task of conquering the subhas of Bengal and Orissa by annihilating Daud Khan. Emperor proceeded to Agra on 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[17]

6. "Munim Khan left Daryapur on 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal,[18] and reached Teliagarhi on 15 Jamadi-ul-Awwal[19] which had beenal ready deserted by the Pathans. The fort of Teliagarhi was now occupied by Munim Khan."

7. "From Teliagarhi Munim Khan proceeded towards Tanda on 22 Jamadi-ul-Awwal,[20] along with Tadar Mal, Ram Das Kachchwaha, and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya. When he was at some distance from Tanda, he came to know that Daud, having left Tanda, was flying to Orissa. Munim Khan therefore, sent Muhammad Quli Khan to pursue Daud and himself entered into Tanda on 4th Jamadi-ul-Akhir.[21]"

8. "When Muhammad Quli Khan,[22] while pursuing Daud, advanced farther from Satgaon,[23] he had to retreat after an encounter with Mirwandi Khan.[24] Munim Khan, thereupon sent Diwan Todar

14. 10 Aug. 1574, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 445-447 says that the emperor Akbar proceeded from Patna to the East in pursuit of the Afghans on 22nd Rabi-ul-Akhir (11 Aug., 1574). *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 141-42 says that Akbar proceeded in pursuit of the Afghans to the Farther east on 19 Rabi-ul-Akhir (8th Aug., 1574 A.D.).

15. 1½ kos east of Mokemah *vide* John Marshall in India (1668-1672) edited by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, pp. 76-77.

16. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 185, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 448, and *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 144 say that Akbar, before starting from Daryapur to the west, entrusted the Kingdom of Bengala to Munim Khan. The Urdu Ms. therefore, gives new information about these appointments made with specific reference to Bihar, and this is not to be found anywhere else.

17. 17th Aug., 1574 A.D. *TA*, *Tr.* vol. II, p. 448 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 185 say that emperor, after staying at Daryapur for six days, proceeded back towards the West, en route to Agra. From the Urdu Ms. we know that Akbar went to Daryapur on 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir= 10 Aug. 1574 A.D and then he started for Agra on 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir (17th Aug. 1574). Since he halted at Daryapur for six days *i.e.* up to 27th Rabi-ul-Akhir, he left Daryapur for Agra on 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir.

18. 20 Aug., 1574; this is a new information so far as date is concerned and is not to be found elsewhere.

19. 2nd September, 1574; this is also a new information so far as date is concerned not to be found elsewhere.

20. 9 September, 1574; this is also a new information so far as date is concerned.

21. 21 September, 1574; this is a new information so far as date is concerned.

22. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names him as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas.

23. A ruined town in Hugli district, situated at Lat. 22° 38′ 20″ N. Long. 88° 25′ 10″ E. (*vide Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 286, vol. XII).

24. The fight between Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) and Mirwandi Khan which took place in between 22nd Jamadi-ul-Awwal and 25th Jamadi-ul-Akhir is a new information given by the Urdu Ms. which is not to be found anywhere else.

Mal, Naib Diwan Ram Das Kachchwaha and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya in pursuit of Daud on 25 Jamadi-ul-Akhir,[25] deputed Murad Khan[26] towards Fathabad[27] and Bogra[28] and himself attended to the affairs of Tanda."

9. "Todar Mal, Ram Das, Kishan Singh Panwar and Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya), while marching from Tanda to Orissa,[29] came to Madran[30] on 15th Rajab[31] where they knew that Daud with his 50 to 60 thousand forces had taken up his position at Rankesri[32] with a view

25. 12 October, 1574 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 194 say that Todar Mal was sent in pursuit of Daud. The Urdu Ms. here gives some new information about the date and the names of the persons who accompanied Todar Mal while pursuing Daud; these were not mentioned by other known histories of the period.

26. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 also names him as Murad Khan.

27. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names it as Fathabad. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Tr. by Jarrett and annotated by Sarkar), vol. II, p. 144 (Calcutta, 1949 edition) where it is mentioned as Sarkar Fathabad.

28. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names it as Bagla. In the foot-note there it has been identified with Bakla which is a part of the modern district of Bakergunge. Pargana Chandradwip belongs to it. *AA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 147 gives the name of Sarkar Bakla. Urdu Ms. records it as Bogra (now in East Pakistan) which formed the Central portion of Rajshahi Division and is between Mymensingh and Dinajpur (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. III, pp. 24-25). I think that it is Bogra which is nearer to Tanda and where Munim Khan could have sent Murad in order to make the position of Tanda secure. Bakla which is a part of Bakergunj subdivision in Dacca Division is far-distant from Tanda and where the Mughals had not penetrated in 982 H. (1574-1575 A.D.).

29. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 194 corroborates Urdu Ms. when he says that Todar Mal was sent to Orissa in pursuit of Daud.

30. In *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 f.n. 1 De, quoting *ED*, vol. V, p. 385, and Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, I, p. 375 says that Madaran is in Hugli district between Burdwan and Midnapoor; that it is now known as Garh Madaran and is mentioned in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel named Mirnalini. I feel that Blochman has made a forced identification of Madaran with Garh Madaran. Madaran is really in Chittua or Chitwa Pargana, sub-division Ghattal, Dist. Midnapoor (W. Bengal, *vide Beng. Dist. Gaz.*, Midnapoor, pp. 174-75, Calcutta, 1911 edition).

31. 31st October, 1574 A.D.

32. The Urdu Ms. has Ran Kesri رن کیسری In Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 under f.n. 8 it is recorded that Darin Kasarai دربن کساری is probably Dar Rin Kasarai meaning "in Ran Kasarai" and Rin Kasarai is probably corruption of Rin Kesari. *ED*, vol. V, p. 385 has Din Kasari. The confusion between ر R, د D, and و V is frequent in Persian Mss. In *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460, f.n. 2 De gives the variants of it as Din Kashari دین کساری, Rin Kasari رین کساری, Dihi Kasari دهی کساری. The name does not appear in Akbarnama. In my opinion it is Ran Kesri, the word Ran meaning fight and Kesri meaning lion; whereas Rin means nothing. So far as its geographical location is concerned, Urdu Ms. says that Todar Mal reached Guliyar on 16 Shaban (1 Dec. 1574) and on 17th Shaban (2nd Dec. 1574) he proceeded from Guliyar to Ran Kesri though he knew at Guliyar that Daud had already proceeded to Cuttack. This indicates that Guliyar was near to Ran Kesri and that when Moghul forces were about to reach Guliyar, Daud left Ran Kesri in haste and proceeded to Cuttack. Since Guliyar is in Midnapoor district as the foot-note on Guliyar in the article would show, Ran Kesri, would be also most probably in Midnapoor district. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 say that Ran Kesri was at a distance of 10 koss from Guliyar and since Guliyar is in Midnapoor district, and most probably in the northern part of it, *i.e.*, either in Ghattal Subdivision or in centre of Midnapoor district, Ran Kesri which was only at the distance of 10 koss from Guliyar would necessarily be in Midnapoor district and probably in the southern part of it.

to giving a fight to his enemies.[33] Todar Mal, finding his forces inadequate, halted at Madaran[34] and wrote to Munim Khan for further reinforcement."[34]

10. "On receiving the message of Raja Todar Mal on 30th Rajab[35] Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan[36] with a force to aid the Raja; Muhammad Quli Khan joined Todar Mal at Madaran on 10th Shabaan."[37]

11. "Todar Mal and Ram Das, now accompanied by Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas), marched from Madaran to Ran Kesri on 16th Shabaan.[38] On reaching Guliyar[39] they new that Junaid was marching to join Daud Khan.[40] Todar Mal sent Abul Kasim against Junaid;[40] but Abul Kasim was defeated by Junaid and was forced to fly.[40] There-

33. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 supports literally the Urdu Ms. in the narration of events.

34. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 supports Urdu Ms.

35. 15 November, 1574 A.D.

36. Muhammad Quli Khan, the leader of the reinforcement troops, was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, a person distinct from Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai who was also included in this reinforcement troops meant for the aid of Todar Mal at Madaran, as is evident from *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460. The reasons for assigning leadership of the reinforcements to Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas are two-fold: (1) Firstly *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 records that since a force which included Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai was sent previously to Satgaon under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas against Daud, it would follow that the force sent subsequently to aid Todar Mal at Madaran and which included both Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, as *TA* says, must have been despatched under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas who had already led the troops on previous occasion. (2) Secondly the Urdu Ms. says under clause 12 that Muhammad Quli Khan died at Jalesar and then under clause 15 it says that Muhammad Quli Khan commanded the right wing of the Moghul forces at the battle of Tukaroi fought later on. How to reconcile these statements? The fact is that Muhammad Quli Khan who died prior to fighting the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas as would be evident from *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 461 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196. Hence the leader of the force that was sent to aid Todar Mal at Madaran prior to the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas. And Muhammad Quli Khan who commanded the right wing of the Moghul force at the battle of Tukaroi subsequently as recorded under clause 15 of Urdu Ms. was Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas had already died earlier.

37. 25 Nov., 1574.

38. 1st December, 1574.

39. Urdu Ms. calls it Guliyar گلیار *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 call it trespectively as Gwaliar and Gwalyar and in the foot-notes of *TA* and Badauni their respective translators, namely, De and Lowe, suggest that Gwaliar or Gwalyar is probably a mistake for Goalpara. *ED*, vol. V, p. 385 has Gowalpara. As for its geographical location, Urdu Ms. under clause 11 says that Todar Mal marched from Madaran towards Ran Kesri on 16th Shaban (1 Dec. 1574) and under clause 12 it records that on 17th Shaban (2nd Dec. 1574) he proceeded from Gulyar towards Ran Kesri. This shows that journey from Madaran to Gulyar was of only one day. Since Madaran is in Ghatal sub-division of District Midnapoor, Gulyar would necessarily be in Midnapoor district as Ghatal sub-division forms the northern most part of Midnapoor district (W. Bengal). The fact that Gulyar would be necessarily in Midnapoor district becomes all the more reassured when one finds under clause 12 of the Urdu Ms. that it took 6 days (17th Shaban—22nd Shaban) for Todar Mal to journey from Gulyar to Jalesar which is in the north part of Balasore district, now the northernmost frontier district of Orissa. Moreover Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 says that Gulyar was a dependency of Bengal.

40. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 460-61 agrees literally with the narration of Urdu Ms.

upon, Todar Mal sent Kishan Singh Panwar[41] and Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya)[41] with their Kachchwaha Panwar, and Ujjainiya followers. Junaid now hid himself in the mountain and his forces finally joined Daud Khan by moving in groups of two to four in order to escape notice."

12. "Todar Mal, Ram Das Kachchwaha and Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) marched from Gulyar on 17th Shabaan[42] towards Ran Kesri; and in spite of the fact that Todar Mal knew at Gulyar about the flight of Daud to Cuttack, he marched and reached Jalesar[43] on 22nd Shaban.[44] Todar Mal halted at Jalesar to arrange for clothings of his soldiers. Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) met with his death (there)."

13. "After the death of Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) the dissension broke forth in the Mughal forces.[45] To avoid this, Todar Mal, accompanied by Ram Das Kachchwaha[46] Kishan Singh Panwar[46] and Kunwar Rampat Ujjain,[46] marched to Burdwan[47] where he reached on 22nd Shawwal[48] and waited there for the reply of Munim Khan."

14. "On the 5th Ramzan[49] a man of Todar Mal[50] came to Todar Mal and persuaded him to go back to Jalesar. Todar Mal, Ram Das

41. These names are new information given by Urdu Ms. and are not to be found elsewhere. The Urdu Ms. says that Todar Mal, on knowing the flight of Abul Kasim, sent Kishan Singh Panwar and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya with a force of Kachchwahas, Panwars, and Ujjainiyas against Junaid. *TA*, Tr. vol. II. p. 461 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 195-96 and *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 170, however, record that on knowing the flight of Abul Kasim, Todar Mal himself marched in person against Junaid.

42. 2nd December, 1574 A.D.

43. A village in the north-west of the headquarters sub-division of Balasore district i.e. Balasore Sub-division. It is situated at 21° 49′ N and 87° 13′E on the left bank of the Swarnrekha, 12 miles from its mouth (*Bengal Dist. Gaz.*, Balasore, Calcutta, 1907 edition).

44. 7 December, 1574 A.D.

45. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 461 support the narration of Urdu Ms. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 hints at it casually.

46. These names and matters relating thereto are new information not to be found elsewhere.

47. The Headquarter town of Burdwan district (W. Bengal) and is situated at Lat. 23° 14 10″ N, Long. 87° 53′ 55″ E (*vide* I.G. II, pp. 125 and 136, London edition 1885).

48. 22nd Shawwal = 4 Feb. 1575 A.D. being the date when Raja Todar reached Burdwan is wrong, as under article 14 of Urdu Ms. we find Raja Todar Mal marching back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7th Ramzan = 21 Dec. 1574 on the persuasion of the man who was sent by Munim Khan to the Raja at Burdwan for the purpose. Since Ramzan proceeds Shawwal and since Todar Mal marched back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7 Ramzan as noted before, the 22nd Shawwal as the date for Todar Mal to reach Burdwan is basically wrong. In my opinion the date when Todar Mal reached Burdwan was 2nd Ramzan=16 Dec. 1574 and the scribe in Urdu Ms. has wrongly written 22nd Shawwal for 2nd Ramzan, adding the numeral 2 before 2nd Ramzan and making it 22nd Shawwal by putting Shawwal for Ramzan.

49. 19 December, 1574 A.D.

50. The Urdu Ms. has wrongly written Todar Mal for Munim Khan as the preceding narration just above therein quite distinctly and unambiguously shows.

Kachchwaha and Kishan Singh Panwar returned towards Jalesar on 7th Ramzan,[51] but Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya)[52] refused to return and went to Bhojpur along with his followers. Todar Mal reached Chitwa[53] on 2nd Ziqada,[54] after proceeding via Madaran and Midnapore.[55] Munim Khan came from Tanda and joined Todar Mal on 5 Ziqad.[56] On 7th Ziqad[57] the Mughal forces, marching from Chitwa, reached Bakhturi,[58] where he knew about the further march of Daud. On 20th Ziqada[59] the Moghul forces reached Tukaroi[60] only to find their path barred by Daud Khan."

15. "Munim Khan put cannons in front of his forces, and himself commanded the centre ;[61] put Todar Mal and Ram Das Kachchwaha

51. 21 December, 1574.

52. The generological table of the Ujjainiya Rajputs and their descendents who have settled in Shahabad district (Bihar) is available in Khudabakhsh Liberary ; but it does not give the name of Rampat Ujjainiya. It however gives one Ram Singh, the son of Gajpati. One Hindi Ms. in Khudabaksh Library, known as Ram Das Kachchwaha Kivarta, shows Rampat Ujjainiya to be the son of Maharaja Gajpati Ujjain(iya) of Bhojpur in Shahabad district (Bihar) and who accompanied Kishan Singh to Patna in the fight against Daud. Hence Kunwar Rampat Ujjain-(iya) is no other than Ram Singh, the son of Maharaja Gajpati as found in the Geneological table.

53. *TA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 462 calls it Jitura. But De in *TA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 462 under f.n. 2 says that *AN* has Citua or Chitua which is in Sarkar Madaran and is, Cutwa of Jarrett, vol. II, p. 141. Citua is in Midnapoar dist. near Ghattal *vide* Beames *JRAS*, 1896, p. 106. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 173 has Citua, Blochmann has indentified Citua with Bhatigarh in Hugli district *vide JASB*, vol. 42, p. 228 n. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 calls it Bajhorah, but Lowe under f.n. 3 there refers to *ED*, vol. V, p. 386 which names it Jitura. I think it is Citua of Abul Fazl, *i.e.* Chittua or Chitwa pargana in Ghattal sub-division, Dist. Midnapoor (Bengal Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor, pp. 174-175, Cal. 1911 edition).

54. 18 February, 1575.

55. Situated at 22° 25'N and 87° 19' E and is at a distance of 80 miles from Calcutta (Ben. Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor. P.I. and p. 208, Cal. 1911 edition) .

56. 16 February, 1575.

57. 18 February, 1575 A.D.

58. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 names it Borchin. As for geographical position of Bakhturi, I have to say that since Chitwa from where the Mughal forces started is in Ghattal sub-division (Midnapoor district) and since Tukaroi, the field of battle, also lay in Midnapoor sub-division of Dist. Midnapoor (*vide* Indian Atlas Sheet, Scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 78 N. Midnapoor), the place Bakhturi which was touched by the Moghul forces while marching from Chitwa to Tukaroi would necessarily be in Midnapoor district, somewhere in between Chitwa and Tukaroi.

59. 3rd March, 1575 A.D. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 gives the date as 20th Ziqada 982 H. = 3rd March, 1575. *TA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 463 gives it as 20 Zil Hijja = 2nd April, 1575. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 gives the date as 20 Ziqada. *AN* is to be relied and hence 20 Ziqada 982 H. = 3rd March 1575 is the date for the battle of Tukaroi.

60. Blochmann has correctly identified Tukaroi with Moghulmari on the road from Midnapoor to Jalesar. R. D. Banerjee in *History of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 2 (Cal. 1931 ed.) says that Tukaroi lies two miles from Moghulmari on the southern bank of the Suvaranrekha (*Ain.*, Tr. vol. I, pp. 375-76) Moghulmari lies in the district headquarters of Midnapoor *i.e.* in Midnapoor sub-division (*vide* Ind. Atlas sheet scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 78N, Midnapoor). Moghulmari is a village in the Midnapoor Sub-division situated about two miles north of Dantan (Beng. Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor p. 212. Cal. 1911 ed.).

61. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 463 confirm the Urdu Ms.

in the left wing,[62] Muhammad Quli Khan (Tokbai) in the right wing,[63] Khan Alam in the vanguard[64] and appointed Abdullah Khan to aid him (Khan Alam). The Pathans had their elephants in the front row; behind the elephants there lay the cavalry and then infantry. The Pathans started marching from the direction of the mountains, and the Mughal cannons began to emit fire on them. Thousands of soldiers, elephants and horses were killed. Gujar Khan Pathan[65] then advanced, fell upon the Moghul forces and killed Khan Alam, the leader of Moghul vanguard. Gujar Khan then wounded with a spear the chest of Munim Khan which caused the latter to fall from the back of the horse; and Munim Khan was about to be slain by Gujar Khan, when Kishan Singh Panwar[66] came to the scene and killed Gujar Khan with his sword. The Pathans now took to their heels and huge booty fell into the hands of the Moghuls including horses and elephants."

16. "Munim Khan sent Todar Mal[67] and Ram Das Kachchwaha in pursuit of Daud. But Daud succeeded in flying to Cuttack.[67] When Todar Mal and Ram Das reached Bhadrak[68] on 28th Ziqad,[69] they knew there that Daud had reached Cuttack where he had come to be joined by many Pathans who had succeeded in flying from the battle of Tukaroi."

17. "Todar Mal and Ram Das, to give rest to soldiers, halted at Bhadrak where they waited for the reply of Munim Khan also."

18. "When Munim Khan received the messenger of Todar Mal on 15 Zil-Hija[70] and came to know that Daud Khan had reached Cuttack

62. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 468 confirm the Urdu Ms.

63. Muhammad Quli Khan manning the right wing was Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai *vide AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175. See also f.n. 86 of the article.

64. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175, and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 468 confirm the Urdu Ms.

65. Gujar Khan was the trusted general of Daud Khan and he had fought against the Moghuls at Patna in 982 H. *vide TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 446.

66. Urdu Ms. says that Gujar Khan was killed by Kishan Singh Panwar. *AN*, *TA*, Badauni only say that Gujar Khan was killed by an arrow of destiny and they are thus not clear on the point as Urdu Ms. is.

67. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 466 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 198-99 confirm the narration of Urdu Ms. with this difference that whereas Urdu-Ms. says that Daud went to Cuttack, *TA* and Badauni say that Daud escaped to Katak-Benares. De in *TA*, Tr. vol. II, under f.n. 2 p. 466 says that Atak (Attock) and Katak (Cuttack) being the extremities of the empire had the word Benares affixed to them. Lowe in Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 198 under f.n. 5 says that Katak-Benares is in the centre of Orissa and is commonly known as Cuttack.

68. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 188 calls the name of the place as Bhadrak where Todar Mal had come and where he knew that Daud fled to Cuttack. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 466 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 199 name the place as Kalkal Ghati where Todar Mal came and where he knew about the flight of Daud to Cuttack. Bhadrak is the headquarter town of the sub-division of the same name, situated at 21° 3′ N. and 86° 31′ E. on the bank of Salandi at 48rd mile of Trunk Road below Balasore (Beng. Dist. Gaz., Balasore, pp. 194-195, Cal. 1907 ed.).

69. 11 March, 1575 A.D.

70. 26 March, 1575 A.D.

where he had been joined by other Pathans and that Todar Mal and Ram Das had halted at Bhadrak, he (Munim Khan) at once, in spite of his wound, went in Palki[71] to Bhadrak which he reached within 15 days and from there he proceeded to Cuttuck along with Todar Mal and ultimately encamped on the bank of the Mahanadi near Cuttack on the 5th Muharram 983 H."[72]

19. "Daud, finding himself in a helpless situation, sent a message for peace to Munim Khan on 6th Muharram."[73]

20. "Munim Khan, after consulting Todar Mal and Ram Das, asked Daud to turn up in person to conclude peace. Daud came to Munim Khan on 17th Muharram[74] and after being duly received the peace was concluded; Daud was given Orissa[75] for his sustenance while Bihar and Bengal came to form the part of the Mughal empire. The Khutba was read in emperor's name."

21. "On the 18th Muharram[76] Munim Khan marched from Cuttack and reached Tanda on 2 Safar 983 H."[77]

22. "Munim Khan now made Tanda his capital. Cholera broke out there which cost many lives and Munim Khan himself died on 17th Rajab[78] 983 H."

71. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 467 and f.n.1., *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 184 mention about the going of Munim Khan in Palki to Bhadrak.

72. 16 April, 1575, this is a new information given by Urdu Ms. in point of date and is not to be found elsewhere.

73. 17th April, 1575, this is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

74. 28 April, 1575; *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 185 gives 1st Muharram 983 H. as the date for concluding peace with Daud. I, however, take 17th Muharram 983 H. as the correct date for concluding peace with Daud as the Urdu Ms. here is more detailed about different dates through which the negotiation for peace underwent and they fit in with the ultimate date of 17 Muharram when peace was finally concluded between Munim Khan and Daud.

75. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 469 supports Urdu Ms. about ceding of Orissa to Daud. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 185 says that some estates in Orissa were given in fief to Daud. H. Beveridge under f.n. 1., p. 185 says that according to *TA*, *ED*, vol. V, p. 390 and Stewart, p. 161 the whole of Orissa was given to Daud. Perhaps the phrase "b'azi mahal" used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues.

76. 29 April, 1575 A.D.

77. 18th May, 1575 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 469 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 200 say that Munim Khan came from Cuttack and entered into Tanda on 10 Safar, 983 H = 21 May, 1575.

78. 22 Oct. 1575, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 478-79 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 220 say that Munim Khan left Tanda and made the deserted town of Gaur his capital. The cholera broke out in Gaur and it cost many lives there and Munim Khan himself died on 17 Rajab, 983 H = 16 Oct. 1575. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 226 says that Munim Khan died on Khur 15 Aban, Divine month, 28 Oct. 1575 and under f.n. 1 there H. Beveridge says that "the date given in Bayazied Biyat's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983 = 28 Oct. 1575. 15 Aban should be 25 or 26 October.

23. "After the death of Munim Khan, Husain Quli Khan [79] was appointed as Governor, whereas Todar Mal[80] and Ram Das[80] continued to hold their previous offices. Husain Quli Khan came to Patna on 27th Ziqad[81] 983 H. when he reached Bhagalpur,[82] he met with many Umerahs and Amirs who were forced to leave Bengal and they now entered into his service."

24. "Husain Quli Khan proceeded further, drove out Pathans from Garhi[83] and Tanda,[84] but had to meet with difficult situation at Akmahal (Rajmahal) where after losing thousands of his followers, he retreat ultimately."

25. "When Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Todar Mal and Ram Das Kachchwaha joined Husain Quli Khan, the latter marched to Akmahal[85] (Rajmahal). The battle of Akmahal was fought on 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal,[86] 984 H. in which Junaid Karrani, the uncle of Daud was wounded, and Kalapahar, the Commander of Daud Khan, after working

79. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 480 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 222 support Urdu Ms. in appointment of Hussain Quli Khan entitled Khan Jhan as Governor after the death of Munim Khan. Husain Quli Khan's title was Khan Jahan *vide* Index p. 452 of Badauni Tr.

80. The fact that Todar Mal and Ram Das continued as Diwan and Naib Diwan of Bihar respectively under the Governorship of Khan Jahan is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

81. 27 February, 1576 A.D. This is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

82. Bhagalpur is the head-quarter town of the Division of that name in the state of Behar.

83. Garhi means Teliagarhi, a narrow pass in Bhagalpur Division, to the farther east of Sahibganj.

84. Tanda stood a few miles to the south-west of Gaur in the region now known as the Malda district (*vide* Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 129 f.n. 1, Oxford, 1919 ed.).

85. In *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 280 under f.n. 2 H. Beveridge says that perhaps Ak is the Turkish word and the name Ak Mahal means white House. Blochmann reads it Ag Mahal. When Man Singh closed it for his residence, it was named Rajmahal. The Turkish word for white is اق Badauni, Tr. Text, vol. II, p. 220 (Cal. 1865 ed.) calls it اک محل, Ak Mahal; but Badauni, Tr. II, p. 285 wrote it Ag Mahal. *ED*, vol. V, p. 397 has the village of Ak, but a note says "Ak Mahal or Aga Mahal. Afterwards called Raj Mahal by Raja Man Singh. The ancient name was Raja Griha." I do not know whether there is any authority for the statement that the ancient name was Raja Griha. Raja Griha is grammatically incorrect. The well-known Raja Griha was the ancient Capital of Magadha and is in Bihar Sub-Division of Patna district, now known as Rajgir.

86. 12 June, 1576 A.D. *TA*, and Badauni are silent on the date of the battle of Raj Mahal. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 258 gives the date of the battle of Raj Mahal as 15 Rabi-us-Sani (984 H) = 12 July, 1576 A.D. The date of 15 Rabi-us-Sani as given by *AN*, for the battle of Raj Mahal is a correct one, as this receives corroboration by the narration in *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 248 and 249 where it is recorded that emperor started for Bengal on 25 Rabi-us-Sani = 22 July, 1576 and had reached Bhiar, a dependency of Agra, in one days march only, when Saiyid Abdullah Khan came from Bengal in only 11 days and met the emperor on that very day i.e. 22nd July, 1576, communicating the news of victory over Daud. Saiyid Abdullah Khan covered the long distance from Bengal to Agra in 11 days when computed from the day of victory at Raj Mahal. This would put the battle of Raj Mahal on 15 Rabi-us-Sani = 12 July, 1576 A.D. Hence the Urdu Ms. has wrongly recorded 15 Rabi-ul-Awwal for 15 Rabi-us-Sani.

havoc upon the Moghul forces, was wounded[87] ultimately by Kishan Singh (Panwar) and was forced to fly away. The Pathans in general now took to flight. Daud Khan was caught; his head was cut-off and was sent to emperor Akbar."

26. "After the battle of Rajmahal, Husain Quli Khan sent Todar Mal and Ram Das to the emperor. Todar Mal and Ram Das served the provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa for 24 months *i.e.* from Rabi-ul-Awwal[88] 972 H. to Rabi-ul-Awwal[88] 984 H. and started for Agra on 2 Rabi-ul-Akhir."[89]

87. The fact that Kishan Singh Panwar wounded so effectively Kalapahar in the battle at Raj Mahal that the latter had to fly away and with his flight there came the general flight of the Pathans is a new information not to be found anywhere else.

88. The period of 24 months with effect from Rabi-ul-Awwal 982 H. to Rabi-ul-Awwal 984 H. as recorded by Urdu Ms. is wrong. Under f.n. 4 of the article I have shown that emperor Akbar got into boat at Agra on 28 or 29 Safar, 982 H. and sailed out for Patna that very day and not on 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal as recorded by Urdu Ms. Under f.n. 86 of the article the battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15 Rabi-us-Sani 984 H. = 12 July, 1576 A.D. and not on 15 Rabi-ul-Awwal 984 H. = 12 June 1576 A.D. as recorded in Urdu Ms. Hence the total length of the period of service, rendered by Todar Mal and Ram Das extended from 28 or 29 Safar, 982 H. (19 or 20 June, 1574) to 15 Rabi-us-Sani 984. (12 July, 1576 A.D.) i.e. nearly 26 months and not 24 months as recorded by Urdu Ms.

89. Since the battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15 Rabi-ul-Akhir, 984 H. = 12 July, 1576 A.D. as shown under foot-note 86 of the article, Todar Mal and Ram Das would not have set out to Agra on 2 Rabi-ul-Akhir = 29 June, 1576 A.D. as recorded by Urdu Ms. This would be 22 Rabi-ul-Akhir = 19 July, 1576 A.D. or 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 984 H. = 28 July, 1576 A.D.

1758

A LETTER OF THE MUGHUL EMPEROR HUMAYUN TO HIS BROTHER KAMRAN

Dr. Sukumar Ray

This letter of Humayun was written to his brother Mirza Kamran, ruler of Kabul, immediately after his accession. In it he sends his brother the sad news of Babur's death and the report of his accession. He expresses his brotherly feeling towards Mirza Kamran and emphasizes the need of unity and concord, particularly in the difficult circumstances which the Mughul State had to face after Babur's death. He expects and counts on his brother's support. It is significant, as we learn from the letter, that the news of Babur's death was not to be divulged to the messenger lest it should be widely known and might encourage rebellion. The letter occurs in the Tarikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizam Shah which is a work on general Islamic history, compiled in 971 A.H./ 1563-64 A.D. Its author Khur Shah ibn Qubad-ul-Husaini was the envoy of Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar (1508-53 A.D.) to the Shah of Persia and remained at the Safavi court for at least nineteen years. There are two MSS. of the work at the British Museum: Add. 23,513 and Or. 153. Both have been used. The letter does not appear in any of the standard histories and collections of letters of the Mughul period. The letter is given below:

'The auspicious spring of the garden of the Caliphate and government of the world and the sweet rose-garden of kingship and conquest of kingdoms, the fortunate plant of the gardens of pomp and sovereignty, the Khusrau of the sun of the light of kingdom, (which is) magnificent and cherisher of the Faith, the incomparable jewel of the treasury of kingship, the unique pearl of the treasury of monarchy, *viz.*, the dearest brother, most upright, worthy, successful, the object of the grace of the Creator, strength of the Holy Law and strengthener of the community, the arm of the prosperous kingdom, the seat of dominion and majesty, Muhammad Kamran Bahadur, the conspicuous and elevated among mankind, having made the standard of the love-inspiring breezes of affection and kindness and of the fragrance of the love and affection-sifting *attar* perfume the sense of smelling and stimulate (the scent of) the garden of unity and conciliation, (should) know it announced on

(his) knowledge-receiving mind, that on account of the exigency of destiny and the effect of divine decree, misfortune has befallen on and calamity has occurred to me and (my) brother as dear as my soul, which is impossible to describe and absurd to conceal. The execution of that (*i.e.* description of the calamity) is not in the region of possibility and its disclosure is not in the power of the tongue of auspicious speech. I intended that I myself (should) write a few words in elegant style to indicate the matter. The rush of grief having seized the bridle of power, it became necessary to order secretaries eloquent in exposition to relate this improvident occurrence. The detailed particulars of the circumstances of his (the late emperor's) affair will remain concealed to the bearer of the closed letter, but I do not know in what manner my brother will listen to the bewildering news and how he will hear of this soul-inflaming incident. It came to (my) mind that patience (should) be taken in this matter and (a note of) counsel be written on this affair, (but) the fire of impatience blazed and the noble words—You say something which you do not do—forbade (the writing of the) counsel. May God give me and you sufficient patience and better reward. Before loosening this rope of unity and raising this dust of the sorrow for the king of high position, I have made over the authority over the people to the charge of my Government and given the order not to neglect the necessaries in this matter, and to open the gates of justice and clemency to the faces of the people. Now although I am beset with immense trouble and am extremely grieved and broken-hearted, yet, having removed the burden of cares and anxieties from the hearts and minds of men, I am engaged in heart and soul in efforts at the assistance of mankind and the defence of the country. It is proper that my dear brother will make effort at rendering assistance and support as he considers and can, and considering all my heart inclined towards the gain and progress of the dominion of himself, (he will) lift the veil of concealment from the face of his desires. Peace be on you.'

1760

THE ZAMINDARS IN THE AIN

DR. IRFAN M. HABIB

BLOCHMANN rendered signal service to the study of Mediæval Indian history by his edition of Abu-l Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain-i Akbari* in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1867-77). Blochmann's text was based on a careful collation of several MSS. and was superior in every respect to the two earlier editions, *viz.* Syed Ahmad Khan's Delhi edition of 1855 (vols. I and III) and Nawal Kishor's ed. of 1869. (Nawal Kishor's edition of 1882 is merely a reprint (without acknowledgment of Blochmann's edition). Blochmann was unfortunate in that he had only one really good MS. which he indicates by the letter *dal* (د). All the others were apparently late and inaccurate transcriptions. Moreland, for instance, has raised serious doubts about his text in some places, especially in the chapter, *Ain-i Dah-sala.*

The present writer has examined a number of MSS. preserved in the British Museum, India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Lindesiana Section of the John Rylands Library of Manchester. It was discovered that several of these MSS. were not very accurately described in the catalogues and the best, from the point of view of age and accuracy, seemed to be Add. 7652 and Add. 6552 in the British Museum and I.O.6. in the India Office Library. But I.O.6. itself is obviously a copy of Add. 7652. All the three almost certainly belong to the 17th century and Add. 7652 and I.O.6. bear endorsements made in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

An examination of these and other MSS. disclosed serious errors in Blochmann's edition, especially in the celebrated statistical section of the *Ain* ('The Account of the Twelve Provinces', *Ain*, Blochmann's text, (vol. I, pp. 386ff.). Whether for convenience of printing or for some other reason, Blochmann did not reproduce the statistics in their original tabular form, which has been preserved with remarkable exactitude in the best MSS. of the work. In the original the table contains eight columns with the following headings: *Parganat* (parganas), *Qila'* (Forts), *Arazi* (Area), *Naqdi* (Revenue in terms of cash), *Sayurghal* (Revenue-free grants), *Zamindar* (or in a very few cases, *bumi*), *Sawar*

(Cavalry), *Piyada* (Infantry). These headings are put at the beginning of every new page in the manuscripts. Blochmann, however, dispensed with the columns altogether and presented the statistics for each pargana line by line. But in doing so he omitted without explanation, all the column headings, apart from the *sayurghal*, *sawar* and *piyada*, which he inserted after the appropriate figures against each *pargana*. Jarrett in his translation (vol. II, ed. Sarkar, pp. 129ff.) did reproduce the statistics in a tabular form but in a very eccentric fashion and without any reference to the arrangement in the MSS. He put the last two columns (*Sawar* and *Piyada*) in the fourth and fifth places and put the sixth column in the original in the last place. He put in his own headings over these columns, " Bighas, Biswas " for " *arazi* " and " Castes " for " *Zamindar*."

For his last substitution he was obviously deceived by Blochmann's text, which simply omits all mention of the word *zamindar* in these tables. But he was not alone in being thus deceived, although doubtless his own translation has misled still many others. It is in fact this editorial error which has led many modern authorities to the view that the *Ain* precludes the existence of *zamindars* in the territories lying directly under imperial administration. Moreland believed that the term *zamindar* in the Mughal period signified an autonomous tributary chief, though he admitted that the word could have had a wider connotation in Bengal, while he found it hard to interpret the local traditions relating to Mughal times about clans and their chiefs in a province like Awadh, which lay so close to the centre of the Empire. (*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 122, 123, 191-4, 279 etc.). Dr. Saran does not seem to have felt even such doubts and summarily defines *zamindar* as ' vassal chief', dismissing as an " absurdity " any implication that the *zamindars* could have existed in all portions of the Empire. (*Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 111 and *n.*, 261-2).

These assertions become untenable once the original headings of the *Ain* are restored. The entries under the column headed *zamindars* give the castes of zamindars, not castes of the inhabitants in general as an innocent reader of Jarrett's translation might assume. (Had this been the case it would have to be supposed that almost the majority of the people of Mughal India were Rajputs !) In the case of the outlying provinces like Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Berar and Khandesh the entries are left blank against the individual *parganas*, note being made only in most, but not all, cases against the respective *sarkars* under which the *parganas* were grouped. But the fullest details, *pargana*-wise, are given under the provinces closes to the heart of the Empire, like Agra, Dehli, Awadh, Ilahabad, Lahore, Ajmir and Gujarat. Rare

indeed is the *pargana* in these directly administered territories, where the caste of the *zamindars* is not given. There can hardly be any doubt, then, that the *zamindars* were no strangers to the Mughal system, that their existence was universal throughout the Empire and that they occupied a place so important that their castes had to be enumerated in the Official statistics.

Nothing in what has been said above should be taken to imply that there is any objection to the view that the vassal chiefs were also described in our period by the term *zamindar* or the synonymous *bumi*. We have clearest instances of the employment of these terms in this sense in Abu-l Fazl's own works, *e.g.* in the *Ain*, Blochmann's ed. I, pp. 477-82, 486, and in the *Akbarnama*, Bib. Ind., III, p. 583 (for the *raja* of Kumaun). What is here being contested is the notion that this was the exclusive way in which they were used. It was a common practice in the Mughal chancery to depress the titles of the contemporary kinglets and rulers in India. Abu-l Fazl consistently uses the word *marzban* for them, not *shah* or *padshah*. Aurangzeb calls both the Adil Shah and Qutb Shah *dunyadars*, a term almost certainly suggested by the word *zamindar* (*dunya* meaning the world and *zamin* meaning earth or land). (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, Br. M. Or. 177, f. 88 a-b). It would, therefore, not be surprising if the word *zamindar* itself was applied to the autonomous chiefs, known to their subjects as *rajas*, *raos*, *ranas*, *rawats*, etc., partly at least in order to lower their status by giving them a name borne also by much lesser men.

It is at the same time true that beyond establishing the fact that these lesser men, the ordinary *zamindars* existed in every nook and corner of the imperial dominions and not only on the periphery, the *Ain* has only a limited amount of information to impart to us regarding their position and status. The emphasis on their castes is interesting and connects them with the ancestors of the present land-holding castes. These clans tend to settle in blocks, as it were, and the fact that many *parganas* in the *Ain* have only one clan entered respectively against them, may suggest that the limits of the *parganas* themselves had been defined while keeping the castes of the zamindars in view. In this connection Charles Elliot's remarks in his *Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 149 *n.* are of some interest. "The limits of a Pergunnah," he says, "hardly ever coincide with physical or geographical boundaries and the only other cause for their irregular tracing seems to be proprietory (he means *zamindari*) right." He goes on, following a line of argument of no concern to us at the moment, to say that the *pargana* may be "defined as a tract of land in the possession of one undivided clan."

A second point of some significance seems to be the association of *zamindari* right with the possession of armed force. It is noteworthy that the columns of cavalry and infantry (sometimes also containing figures for elephants) follow the column of the zamindars in the *Ain*'s statistics. This is obscured in Jarrett's translation, but this is due to his tampering with the original arrangement without any warrant whatsoever. From their position itself it is most probable that the figures under these two columns are those of the troops of the *zamindars* of the respective *parganas* and *sarkars*. What is still more suggestive is the fact that the provincial statistics contain totals of the *pargana* or *sarkar* figures of these troops and style them *bumi*, which term. as we have noted, was synonymous with *zamindar*. The total of these provincial figures amount to the following: 3,84,558 cavalry; 42,77,057 infantry; 1,863 elephants; 4,260 guns; and 4,500 boats. The cavalry and infantry thus come to a little over 46 lakhs. This figure is to be kept in mind while reading a statement elsewhere in the *Ain*. "The troops of the *zamindars*," it declares, while speaking of the imperial army, "exceed forty-four *laks*." This number indicates that the reference is not exclusively to the troops of the autonomous chiefs, but to the troops entered against each pargana throughout the Empire and this in its own turn shows that the latter were really the retainers of local *zamindars*.

The net result of this enquiry then is that the *zamindars* were a universal feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India and that they were settled on a clan or caste basis and were commonly characterised by command of armed force. How they actually fitted into the system of regular administration, described in such detail by the *Ain*, is unfortunately left obscure by Abu-l Fazl. Here we must call in the aid of other material but this lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

1764

THE THEORY OF THE NUR JAHAN 'JUNTA'— A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

DR. S. NURUL HASAN

DR. BENI PRASAD, in his learned work *A History of Jahangir*, has put forward the theory that a 'junta' consisting of Nur Jahan Begum, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram became dominant at the Mughal court shortly after the marriage of Nur Jahan with Jahangir and remained so till 1620.[1] It broke up when Nur Jahan realised that Shah Jahan, with his domineering nature, would relegate her to the background if he were to succeed to the throne. She therefore decided to supersede him by a more pliable instrument, Shahriyar, whose marriage was arranged with her daughter, Ladli Begum. The 'junta' consolidated its power by filling most of the vacancies in the imperial service with its own creatures to an extent that its 'favour was the sole passport to honour and rank'. This naturally aroused the jealousy and hostility of the other nobles.[2] Consequently, the Court was split into two factions during this period: the adherents of the Nur Jahan 'junta', and the rival party whose candidate for the throne was Khusrau.[3]

Dr. Beni Prasad attributes to the working of the 'junta' the following:

Rapid rise in the *mansabs* of I'timad-ud-Daula, and his family;[4] interruption in the promotion of Mahabat Khan between 1612 and 1622 (and presumably in the career of others like him);[5] imprisonment

1. Though Dr. Beni Prasad starts by saying that the junta broke up in 1622 with Itimad-ud-Daula's death and Shah Jahan's rebellion, he later suggests that it broke up with Shahriyar's marriage.

2. 'All those who were, or fancied that they were deprived of their due neep of power and left in outer darkness'. 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan temporised with the dominant junta, but prouder spirits like Mahabat Khan refused to pay them homage'.

3. Beni Prasad, *A History of Jahangir*, 1940, pp. 159-172.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-168.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

6. "His disgrace was only one more in the game for unquestioned supremacy which the Nur Jahan junta was now playing with heart and soul." *Ibid.*, p. 204.

of Khan-i-A'zam ;[6] extraordinary rise of Khurram,[7] eclipse of Parvez ;[8] and the varying fortunes of Khusrau.[9]

The above theory requires a careful examination, because, if accepted, it would imply that from quite early in the reign of Jahangir, the 'junta' started intriguing in its selfish interests (thus ignoring the interests of Jahangir), and that the party groupings at the court centered round the 'junta' and its opponents. A close examination of the sources and the sequence of events, however, suggests that this theory cannot be substantiated.[10] Consequently, the nature of the groupings at the court, the internal stresses within the nobility and the rôle of the emperor have to be analysed further for a proper understanding of the principal political events during the period.

This theory is based principally on the European sources, notably on the statements of Sir Thomas Roe. Roe definitely refers to the existence of a 'junta' consisting of Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan, in the context of Shah Jahan's attempt to secure the custody of Khusrau in 1616,[11] and where he asserts that the main strength of Khurram lay in the support which he received from Nur Jahan.[12] It is quite obvious that the information of Roe and the other foreigners is based upon rumours that were circulating about Khusrau, Khurram and Nur Jahan and hence his observations cannot be relied upon entirely. However it is significant that from the end of 1616, rumours became current of an estrangement between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan, and of an alliance between the former and Khusrau. Such rumours became quite common in 1617 and again in 1619, as will appear from the following statements :—

1616—Rumour of an alliance between Asaf Khan and Khusrau.[13]

12-12-1616—"Sultan Khusrau shall marry "Nur Mahal's daughter and have liberty and that all faction will adhere to him."[14]

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165, 230, 242-43.
On his return from the Deccan, where he had achieved nothing significant, he was given the unusual title of Shah Jahan and an unprecedented rise in *mansab*. "But the junta celebrated this performance with high pomp and magnificence which were calculated to enhance their own glory and prestige." *Ibid.*, p. 243.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 230.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-172, 283-291.

10. Dr. R. P. Tripathi has rejected the 'junta' theory, but has not put forward his arguments in details for doing so. Cf. *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*.

11. *Purchass and his Pilgrims*, vol. IV, pp. 361-62, 365-66, 377-78.

12. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* (1896-1902), v/362.

13. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 385.

14. Roe, p. 368.

21-8-1617.—" Nur Mahal and Asaf Khan, by their father's advice came out to make peace with Khusrau and alliance and with infinite joy his liberty is expected."[15]

25-8-1617—Report of a feast of Khusrau with Nur Jahan and the likelihood of an alliance which would bring about Khusrau's liberty and Khurram's downfall.[16]

17-9-1619—Rumour that the Emperor had displaced prince Khurram.[17]

30-9-1619—Rumours of Khurram's disgrace and Khusrau's liberty. ' Raising of him (Khusrau) will be the fall of the other whose high expectations would by no means be induced to conformity '.[18]

Taken as a whole, the above statements suggest that from the end of 1616 the relations between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were not particularly cordial. The other European sources refer to Nur Jahan's immense influence, or to the popularity of Khusrau and Shah Jahan's hostility towards him, but provide no evidence of factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan.[19]

Among the Persian sources, Mu'tamad Khan strongly complains of the excessive influence of Nur Jahan and of the fact that all her relations and friends got posts and appointments in the state, and the choicest *jagirs* of Hindustan were in the hands of those who were related to or associated with her.[20] There is, of course, no question of Mu'tamad Khan suggesting any factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan. On the other hand, he is keen to prove that Nur Jahan was hostile and unjust to Shah Jahan for selfish reasons. Since it appears that both his works (*viz.* the third volume of the *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* and the *Ahwal-i-Shahzadagi-i-Shah Jahan Padshah*) were written during the reign of Shah Jahan, his prejudice against Nur Jahan is quite under-

15. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 404.

16. Roe, p. 407. Cf. Della Valle that Nur Jahan repeatedly offered her daughter in marriage to Khusrau, but he rejected the offer. In despair she gave her daughter to Shahriyar. pp. 56-57.

17. *English Factories in India*, vol. I, p. 122.

18. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 128.

19. Terry, pp. 406, 411-412; James Bickford to Sir T. Smith, *Letters Received*, vol. V, p. 184.

20. *Iqbal Name-i-Jahangira* (Bib. Ind.), vol. III, pp. 74, 80.

standable.[21] Kamgar Husain, who wrote his *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* in 1630, also adopts the same line of argument.

The little known *Tawarikh-i-Jahangir Shahi* of Wali Sirhindi, written in the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign, was composed for the purpose of winning imperial favour.[22] It contains eulogies to Jahangir, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan, the prince and some of the nobles. But significantly enough, it makes no mention of Nur Jahan, thus casting a doubt on the view that she exercised undue influence even before 1620.

Kami Shirazi's *Fath Nama-i-Nur Jahan Begum*[23] written at Kabul in 1625-26, deals with the rebellion of Mahabat Khan, and as such contains no reference to or suggestion of any factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan during the earlier period.

Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi, identified by Elliot as the fragment of a contemporary work, appears on a close internal examination to be a source of doubtful authenticity, compiled at a much later date.[24] But the anecdote mentioned even in this source cannot be considered as supporting the 'junta' theory. The anecdote is summarised as follows:[25]

21. Although the third volume of *Iqbal Nama* gives the impression that it was written during the region of Jahangir, it is very unlikely that it could have been written when Jahangir was alive and Nur Jahan was at the height of her power. In the preface to the earliest known copy of *Iqbal Nama* dated 1635 (Bankipur MS. 560) it is definitely stated that the work was written in two volumes concluding with the death of Akbar. The third volume, dealing with the reign of Jahangir, was therefore written, presumably after 1635 when Mu'tamad Khan was holding the post of the Imperial Bakhshi to Shah Jahan. *Ahwal-i-Shahzadagi-i-Shah Jahan Padshah* (being the first section of Bankipur MS. 565) was definitely written during Shah Jahan's reign (for his criticism of Nur Jahan's hostility to Shah Jahan, see ff. 16-17b *et seq.*)

The historians of Shah Jahan's reign were faced with a po'itical dilemma: If they justified Shah Jahan's rebellion, they would be supporting a dangerous political theory (Cf. Aurangazeb's taunt to Shah Jahan in 1658, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*); if however they were to condemn the rebellion, it would be a slur on imperial dignity. Shah Jahan's rebellion was therefore represented not as a revol t against Jahangir, but as an act of loyalty to him to free him from the undesirable and selfish influence of Nur Jahan.

22. Bodleian, Seldon MS. 28 (Cat. No. 231) ff. 389b-421a. The author, Wali Sirhindi, had prepared a dictionary of medical terms, *Farhang-i-Badi'-ul-Lughat-i-Jahangiri*. This sketchy history was included as a sort of a preparatory note to the dictionary.

23. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Blochet iii/1874). A metrical history giving an account of the victory of Nur Jahan over Mahabat Khan during the latter's rebellion. Also entitled *Waqai-uz-Zaman*.

24. *ED*, vol. VI, pp. 446-47. British Museum, Or., 1648 ff. 181b-201b. It appears that a much later writer collected from the *Tuzuk*, the *Iqbal Nama* and other works (contemporary or later) a number of disjointed anecdotes and legends regarding Jahangir's reign (many in the direct form of speech). All of these cannot be entirely relied upon.

25. B. M. Or. 1648, ff. 195a *et seq.* ED, vol. VI, p. 451.

In the presence of Khan-i-Alam and Khan-i-Jahan, Mahabat Khan complained to Jahangir against the excessive influence exercised by Nur Jahan. He also pleaded for the release of Khusrau from perpetual confinement[26] and for entrusting him to one of the confidants of the emperor. The safety of the emperor and the peace of the empire depended on the life of Khusrau. Khan-i-Alam and Khan-i-Jahan corroborated the statement and the next day Jahangir entrusted Khusrau to Khan-i-Jahan with permission to pay his respects at the court. Khusrau was also given a horse to ride.[27] For a few days after Mahabat Khan left Jahangir at Pakli, the latter was careful, but on reaching Kashmir he again fell under the control of Nur Jahan.[28]

Apart from the fact of the doubtful authenticity of the work, and the extreme unlikelihood of a noble complaining to Jahangir about Nur Jahan in 1620, the incident presents certain other difficulties in regard to the 'junta' theory. Firstly, Mahabat Khan was with Jahangir for about three weeks in February, 1620,[29] but before this time, restrictions on Khusrau had already been relaxed. Secondly, this piece of evidence can be used in support of the 'junta' theory only if it is proved that in 1620, Nur Jahan was using her influence to keep Khusrau in confinement, presumably in the interest of Shah Jahan. However, as has been shown later, Shah Jahan's demand for taking Khusrau with himself to the Deccan, and the betrothal of Shahriyar to Ladli Begum at about the same time, indicate mutual suspicion between Shah Jahan and the court circles. It seems that Shah Jahan's taking custody of Khusrau was sought to be counteracted by the betrothal of Shahriyar to Ladli Begum.

It will thus be seen that the direct evidence of a factional alliance between Shah Jahan and Nur Jahan is of an extremely dubious nature.

26. While Jahangir was at Brindaban in 1619, Khusrau was released from confinement and permitted to come and pay his respects at the Court. *Tuzuk*, p. 280, According to *IN*, 'Aziz Koka had asked Jad Rup Gosain to pray for Khusrau's relase (vol. III, pp. 129-30). Wali Sirhindi, writing in 1619, praises the sons of the emperor, starting with Khusrau. His account certainly goes against the possibility of Khusrau being in confinement at the time. (ff. 406a and b).

27. From a statement in *IN*, that Khusrau, Khan-i-Jahan and Khan-i-Alam rode one stage behind the emperor during the march to Kashmir in 1620 (vol. III, p.128) it appears possible that Khan-i-Jahan might have been entrusted with the responsibility of keeping an eye on Khusrau. But Mu'tamad Khan contradicts himself when he says in *IN*, that when Khusrau was handed over to Shah Jahan he had been in prison for a long time. (vol. III, p. 176). In *Ahwal*, he says that at that time Khusrau was in prison in the custody of Khwaja Abul Hasan, (f. 15b).

28. Immediately after leaving Pakli and before reaching Kashmir, Jahangir ordered that in view of the narrowness of the road, no officer should ride with him except Asaf Khan and Mu'tamad Khan. *Tuzuk*, pp. 292-93 ; *IN*, vol, III, p. 188.

In view of the points raised in this and the preceding notes, it appears that the anecdote mentioned in Or. 1648 may have been based on later legends which grew out of the incidents given in the *Tuzuk* and *IN*.

29. *Tuzuk*, pp. 287-89.